the great number of very short women; but I am 141
inclined to attribute it partly to the system of polyandry 595
which prevails among them. This system is, I believe,
almost universal amongst the mixed race of Kanetis
throughout Kanawar and the other Kaneti districts, but
as far as I could learn it is not so prevalent amongst the
pure Botis of Ladák. The custom has therefore most
probably been borrowed from the polyandrous Hindu
race of Himálayan Kshatriyas, amongst whom it has
been preserved for at least twenty-five centuries, since
the Pandavan brothers jointly espoused the princess
Draupadi.

The great differences observable in the stature of the 000
Musalmán races of Shigar ~~on~~ the north and of Skardo
on the south, must no doubt be attributed to the mixture
of other races; of the diminutive Kirghiz of Pamer
with the first, and of the tall Kashmiri with the second.
The people of Shigar were once, I believe, pure Kirghiz.

In general the Botis have short, squat, stout figures, 142
with broad, flat, ugly faces; but occasionally amongst
the better classes I have seen both men and women who
were well made and well featured, and with a fine rosy
colour in their cheeks. Indeed, I have even seen a few
of the women that were really handsome, with good
regular features and ~~fine~~ figures. But in general they
are all, both men and women, not only ugly but
hideous, and more especially the old women. Dr.
Gerard's amusing description of these people is too
graphic to be omitted.* "In figure they are stout,
waddling, and dumpy; * * * in face they are not
beautiful, even when young; when past their climacteric, [145]
very unseemly; and when old, a picture of horrid ugliness.

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* Asiatic Researches, XVIII. p. 249.

264 565 repeated in the middle of the day, with any fruits that may be in season,—apples, grapes, and apricots, or with the last dried. In the evening they usually have rice, and a broth of turnips, or of sheep or goat mutton, for 262 784 since the occupation of the country by the Hindu Dogras, Yak's flesh is no longer to be had in Northern Ladák. Even in the British district of Spiti, the Yak is now a sacred animal, as our Government have made over the district to the Hindu raja of Bisahar.

273 All classes are exceedingly fond of spirituous liquors, although they have nothing better than their own indigenous *Chang*. This is made from fermented barley and wheat flour, and has a most disagreeable sour smell, like that of bad beer, and a thick appearance like dirty gruel. This is the usual beverage; but it is sometimes distilled, by which process a clear spirit is obtained, something like whiskey, but of a most villanous flavour.

VI.—SOCIAL CUSTOMS.

● 595 565 The most remarkable social institution of the Botis is the system of polyandry, which is strictly confined to brothers. Each family of brothers has only one wife in common. The most usual number of husbands is two, but three and even four husbands are not uncommon. This system prevails of course only among the poorer classes, for the rich, as in all eastern countries, generally have two or three wives, according to their circumstances. Polyandry is the principal check to the increase of population, and however revolting it may be to our feelings, it was a most politic measure for a poor country which does not produce sufficient food for its inhabitants.

were quite unknown in Ladák, hence the Indian word. 600

BELL--teeloo or treelo (small or hand bell) and SHnga (large). The SHnga is not unlike a small Church bell, it does not swing but is sounded by means of a string, tied to the tongue, which is thus made to strike the bell. tripSHil (the bells usually seen on the breast band of the ponies of Lámas and Lhása men). 534

BETROTH TO--treechhang (or teechhang) stǎr ches, among Ladákis, betrothals, which are the occasion for a little drinking of tea and chhang,[1] are arranged by parents in consultation with relatives. Having fixed upon a match, which from a wordly point of view, seems desirable, they then refer to the lámas, to see if the destinies of the proposed couple suit. If they are found to be unsuited the betrothal is given up. A youth is betrothed when he is about 20 years of age, and a girl perhaps two years earlier. After the betrothal or "teechhang stǎr ches, the wedding or "pakston" may take place within a month, or it may be put off for a year or more. If a male child possessing property, is left alone in the world, he is betrothed at once to some fully grown woman, who acts, as [11] his nurse during his childhood, and as his wife during his later years. This is not found an inconvenient practice as a Tibetan may have two "little" wives, in addition to his original "pakston" wife. The dowry (rinto) is fixed at the time of betrothal, but it is not given till the marriage takes place, and sometimes even after that. This dowry is paid by the bridegroom to the father or other nearest male relative of the bride. 584 [787] [793] 585 768 ~~584~~ [595] 585

BIBLE--zhalchat hngâma is the word used by Missionaries, meaning "mouth promise former." If an ordinary villager used the expression, he would mean that he had obtained a promise actually from the mouth of some superior. See also under "Gospel". 600

BLESS TO--chagyang táng ches. This term is applicable to the "laying on of hands" or blessing, bestowed by a high lama, or incarnation, placing his hand on the bowed and bared heads of the laymen kneeling before him. The general word for "to bless" is "skiopches" God bless you; konjok kiol la skiopSHes dzat SHik. Chinlap táng ches is "to give sacred pills". 793 788

[1] [i.e, barley beer-- ANALYST]

waist to the calf and then tight to the ankle. The women's garments are of two patterns, the one called "potdur" or "botdur" and the other "sulma." The former are wide and short, coming only down to the calf, where they are tucked inside a piece of felt worn like a gaiter. The latter are like the garments seen in India, loose from waist to knee, and then very tight and very long, lying in folds from the calf down to the ankle. Among the Buddhists of Ladák, a woman wears these garments of white patoo till she gives birth to a child, after which, she wears them of black patoo. Among the ArGHons[4] of Ladak, a woman wears white patoo trousers only till she is married, after which she wears black. 291 851 563 585

(14)BRICK--páoo, this is the general term; it would be understood to mean the common sun-dried brick, which is made, not of clay, but of earth without the admixture of straw or any other binding substance. "Kaktsey páoo' is red or burnt brick, made of clay. These are seldom used, for owing to scarcity of wood they are expensive, and the rainfall in Ladák is so slight, that sun-dried bricks do very well. Once in 8 or 10 years heavy rain falls, and when this happens, nearly every house in the town of Leh becomes unfit for habitation, as the sun-dried bricks can't stand wet. 333 [132]

BRICK-LAYER--rtsikspon. As a matter of fact, in Ladák, the carpenters are the brick-layers. 463

BRIDE--pakma or pakmo. A woman in Ladák may become a bride at any age after 10. The usual age, both among Buddhists and Arghons[4] is from 14 to 18 years. Beauty in a bride is not much sought after among the Buddhists as they think beautiful brides are apt to become troublesome wives. The best bride is she who has the most property and is the best able to look after it. See also "Wife". 581 582 563

BRIDEGROOM--These are of two classes. Pakpho is the term for "bridegroom" as understood by Europeans. His age is usually from 14 to 20 years. Although the younger brothers of a bridegroom are entitled to share their eldest brother's wife, so long as they live under the same roof, they never figure as bridegrooms, and they take no part in the marriage ceremony. 582 595 ● 585

[4] [Half-caste Mohammedans--Analyst]

583 Makpa is the term for the bridegroom selected by a woman. In this
case the man belongs to the woman, not the woman to the man.
If a man has a daughter and no son, and if he is also in a position
to provide for her for her life, he arranges for a "makpa"
for her; and in this way, he is able to select a man to marry
his daughter and to come and live with him, thereby killing
two birds with one stone, for not only does he thus avoid having
to part with his daughter, who is practically his servant,
but he gets an able-bodied man to come and join her, also as
595 his servant. The brothers of a "makpa" can not share the
[554] makpa's wife. There is no loss of dignity involved in accepting
the position of a makpa bridegroom. Under certain circumstances
a woman may have a second husband, but see
under "Husband".

601 BROTHER--ácho (eldest) parma (middle) and no (young). Spoonla is the general term for full-blood brothers. The words "ácho" and "no" are used just as the Hindustanis use the word "bhai." If the speaker is the elder, he says "no" but if the person spoken to is the elder, the word "ácho" is used.

779 [15]BUDDHA--sangeys or SHakskia thuba. Each "kapla" or period (at the end of each of which the world, for its wickedness, is destroyed by fire) has its own Buddha. The name of the Buddha of the coming period is maitreya.

BUDDHIST--bót or sangeyspa or bótPa. The word "nángpa" or "insider" is used by bots when speaking of themselves as distinguished from Christians and Mahomedans, etc., who are termed "pheepa" or "outsider."

764 BURIAL--The Buddhists of Ladák burn their dead. The Mahomedans use the Arabic word "dafan" but see "Funeral."

262 BUTTER--mar khagla or khagla mar (butter, or fresh butter) mar is
a general term for butter, oil, and ghee. Europeans and their
[439] servants generally use the word "mar" to mean "fresh butter"
but they are understood to mean the butter-like ghee, which is
imported from Baltistan.

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779 776 DEVIL--rdud or rdut the evil principle, hlandey or hlandrey demon or imp, drey an evil spirit, dreypho male evil spirit dreymo female evil spirit, rdud i hugus the abode of a devil, ghegs and hnot chet evil spirits tsan a class of evil spirits--a tsan is supposed to live in the nullah behind the Másho village.

428 [32]DISINHERIT TO--Ladákis can not disinherit their eldest son. However bad he may be, he must inherit the whole of his parents' property.
thopthang kok ches is to deprive a person of his inheritance.

586 DIVORCE TO--There are two kinds of divorce in Ladak, also a kind of separation by mutual consent, which amounts to a divorce, inasmuch as the parties concerned may re-marry.

586 595 768 When the eldest brother of a Buddhist family dies, his wife is at liberty to divorce herself from his dead body, by tying one end of a thread round the dead man's finger, and the other end round her own finger, and then breaking the thread. This ceremony is known as "skatpa chát ches." By divorcing herself from her dead husband, she frees herself of the younger brothers of her late husband. Under Ladák law, the eldest brother marries a woman, and the younger brothers share the wife. If a woman has living children she never [428] divorces herself from her dead husband, for her eldest son, or if she has no son her eldest daughter [33] inherits the family property and the dead man's brothers remain in a subordinate position in the house. If she has no children, she often looks out for a more comfortable home.

The brothers of the dead man have no voice in the matter of this kind of divorce.

[587] If the woman divorces herself, then the eldest surviving brother is at liberty to marry a wife of his own selection, but he must share her with his younger brothers.

586 779 If a Buddhist couple can't agree, they refer their case to an arbitrator or "GHatpo, "who, if he thinks matters can not be amicably arranged, decides that they must "break the stick, " and thereby divorce each other. This ceremony is called "SHing chak ches" each party retains his or her own property. No stigma attaches to either party provided "incompatibility of temper" is the cause of divorce. If 586 428 there are any small children, under 7 or 8 years, they remain with the mother till they are 7 or 8 years old, and

DOGRA AV6

then they go to their father, and eventually inherit his property. Except in the case of a "makpa" husband (see makpa) a Ladáki woman cannot divorce her husband against his will, but a man may divorce his wife for adultery. In such cases, circumstantial evidence against a woman is not enough, and a man who would take proceedings against his wife unless she had been taken "in flagrante delicto," would be looked down upon and termed a "meestam sonum batkhan" i.e., one who listens to scandalous rumours.

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Divorces of this kind are rare, for Ladákis are peculiarly free from sentimental ideas of dishonour and wickedness in connection with this offence, which they regard as amounting to an infringement of private rights in property rather than as anything more serious. Consequently, if the offending wife is willing to return to her husband, the latter usually consents to hush the matter up, in consideration of a sum of money probably 4 or 5 rupees or other valuables being given to him, as compensation, by his wife's lover. If the woman refuses to return to her husband, the latter can divorce her and retain possession of her property. If a man wishes to divorce his wife for any offence other than adultery, and his younger brothers do not agree to this, then the eldest brother, if he persists in divorcing his wife, must give her enough land to support her and his younger brothers. The wife and the younger brothers then leave the family roof and set up house together of their own account.

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Ladákis never apply to the Kashmir law courts for a divorce, such matters they arrange among themselves. They are however subject to the Kashmir laws, and a vindictive husband or wife may bring his or her case before the Kashmir courts. These do not pronounce decrees of "divorce" but they may imprison or fine persons found guilty of infidelity.

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DOGRA--singpa. Owing no doubt to the fact that most Dogra names end with the syllable "sing." The Dogras are looked up to as soldiers but if a Civil official is described as a Dogra, it is almost tantamount to an insinuation that he is an ignorant, pig-headed fellow. A man who is not a Dogra is not spoken of as a Dogra, but if a Dogra is described as a Dogra, the intention is to indicate that he is not clever.

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Ladák they are almost unknown. 00-0

ECLIPSE--ngeendzin of sun, láandzin of moon. The Ladákis think that a demon eats the sun and moon, and that the poison from his teeth turns the sun or moon black, and thus causes the eclipse. 821

[37]ENTAIL--The law of entail among the Buddhists of Ladák is a peculiar one. 428 592 When the eldest son of a Buddhist family marries, the property of the parents is divided; a small portion, sufficient for the support of the mother, the several fathers, [595] (i.e., the mother's wedded husband and his younger brothers, who are also her "de facto" husbands), and any unmarried daughters there may be, is made over to the "great father," (i.e., the eldest of the several fathers), for their separate use, the remainder of the property is at once inherited by the eldest son. This process of dividing is called "khángoo khángchhen cho ches," the small portion of the property retained by the parents and sisters is called "khángoo," and that made over to the son is called "khángchhen." When the parents and sisters die or form fresh connections, the "khángoo" comes into the possession of the holder of the "khángchhen." The younger brothers live with their eldest brother, he is obliged to house and feed them and to share his wife with them. They are at liberty to remain with their brother, or to go out into the world, on their own account, whichever they like; but, if once a younger brother leaves the family house for good, he can not claim to return to it. This law of entail can not be set aside, and however badly a son may behave, he can not be disinherited. [473] When the son takes possession of the "khángchhen," all the duties attaching to the family land (zhing) devolve upon him. The state does not recognize the division of the land, and regards him as the owner of the entire holding, and he alone has to pay the [651] [38] land revenue, and supply forced labour, etc., when required by the State. The parents and sisters have no duties to the State to perform.

If an eldest brother dies, or becomes a Láma, (in which case he cannot marry, unless he renounces his priestly calling,) [292] he drops out of the family circle, and the next brother takes his place. An only son never becomes a Láma, if his parents have any property.

[40]EXCOMMUNICATE TO--khioo ne ton ches literally, "to eject 688
from the flock." For offences against religion, Buddhists 779
may be excommunicated by the abbot or "hlóbon" for a
longer or shorter period. The offender gives a goat or
other offering, and is then received back into the fold. The
giving of such penitential offerings is called "SHakspa cho
ches."

EXORCISE TO--rdud (or drey or hlandrey) ton ches. There are two 155
ways of exorcising evil spirits, or driving away sickness.
One way is for the Láma to come into the room where the
evil spirit is, and, while reading prayers, etc., to strike
the air with his "dorjey phurba" or "magic dagger", thus
killing or driving out the demon. The other way is to make
a clay figure, and then by means of prayers, etc., to cause
the evil spirit, or demon of sickness, to take up his abode
in this figure which is then, amid much hissing and shouting,
taken out of doors and destroyed.

[42]FARM--There are no farms in Ladák, the land is cultivated by 423
peasant proprietors who, however, have to pay a land tax 241
to the Kashmir Durbar. Each holding is termed a "zhing" 651
or "zhing kháng" and the holder is termed "zhingrdak."
For further particulars see under heading "Entail."

FATHER--ábá or respectfully yap the eldest father, ágoo the 601
younger fathers. Polyandry is almost universal among the 595
Buddhists of Ladák. The eldest brother marries a wife and
the younger brothers share her with him. It is usual for as
many as three brothers to thus live together, if there are
more than three brothers, some of them leave the house on
their own account. All children born are considered the [851]
children of the eldest brother, but a child speaking of its
"fathers" would call the eldest father "ábá" or "ábá
chhenmo," the middle one "ába parma," and the young
one "ába chhungan." The younger fathers may also be
termed ágoo. The actual father is the "ába ngótok."

[43]FERRY--raps or chhocraps a ford, nái or toochhung a ferry boat. 505
There are only two ferry boats in Ladák, the one is at the 491
Shyok, crossing between Khardong and Tsáti, and the other
is at the Shyok crossing at the north base of the Sasseer Pass.

423 651 427 GROUND RENT--bap or mámila the revenue assessment on land; zhino-thal the unpaid labour which landowners have to supply, when required by the State; ngidzhing or zhingrin the rent paid yearly for land rented for a limited number of years only; SHast zhing the small yearly rent paid, in addition to an original lump sum, for cultivated lands rented in perpetuity; SHaskhang the rent paid for ground used for building purposes.

821 [56] HAIRY--sráchan or SHrăchan general, spoonjan on face. The Ladâkis are a very smooth faced race, and they consider it a disfigurement if a man has a strong growth of hair on his face.

601 HALF BLOOD--The Ladákis have no single word for this; they have to say "of one father, but of different mothers," or as the case may be.

563 583 797 HALF CASTE--árGHôn. This is the general and only term for a hybrid, and by no means always signifies a half caste. ArGHôns are all Mahomedans, most of them are Sunis, but some also Shiahs. The former are the result of connections formed by the Mahomedan traders, who yearly visit Leh in large numbers, and the women of the country, while the latter are the result, generally speaking, of connections formed between men of Baltistán and women of Ladák.

The Mahomedans of Central Asia are habitually incontinent, and when they come to Leh during the trade season (1st August to 1st October) they (as prostitution is against their religion, and as they can only marry women of their own religion), induce the Ladák women to adopt the faith of Islám, after which they go through the "nikah" marriage ceremony with them.

[771] Their religion lies but lightly on the people of Ladák, and the women have no objection to turning Mahomedan, and becoming the "nikah" brides of men who are in a position to keep them. The offspring of these connections are, in the first instance, half caste Tibetan Mahomedans called "árGHóns," and these again frequently marry pure Tibetan women (converted to Mahomedanism), but their children too are "árGHóns," thus it may happen that a man is practically a pure Tibetan, nevertheless if he traces his descent from a connection formed between a Mahomedan, and a Ladaki woman, he is termed
[595] an "árGHón." ArGHóns are never polyandrists, and though

their women occasionally turn Buddhist for the sake of marrying 563 583
a well-to-do Ladáki, it is much more unusual for them to do 777
so than for Ladaki women to turn Mahomedan.

It follows, therefore, that the árGHón population of Ladák, (confined [162]
almost entirely to the town of Leh and its immediate
vicinity) is increasing more rapidly than the Buddhist population.

The language of the arGHons is Tibetan, and they affect Mahomedanism. 197
They go to the Musjid to pray, they can repeat the 563
"Kalma" or "declaration of faith," and they know the ordinary
ritual, this is enough for them, and they think themselves very
good Mahomedans.

When left to themselves, the Ladákis were free from religious bigotry, 798
and their womenkind scorned to hide their faces from the
public gaze; but since the Dogra conquest of the country, they 178
have (excepting for about 10 years, when there was an English 177
Governor of Ladák), been ruled over by Wazirs, some of them 583
Hindus and some of them Mahomedans, but all of them inhabitants 562
of India, and the result is, that Ladák is being slowly, 595
but surely, impregnated with the barbarous Indian ideas in
connection with religion and matrimony. Already the
árGHóns are beginning to shut their women up in Zananas,
while the árGHón women as often as not, veil their faces
when pass-[57]ing strangers in the streets. Child marriages
are becoming more common, and the people are being taught
that polyandry, that invaluable safe guard against over population,
with its inevitable consequences of poverty, disease,
misery and crime, is disgraceful.

Mr. Drew gives the ArGHóns a very bad character, he says "the half 114
castes are for the most part thoroughly untrustworthy, and in 563
other respects they are of worse character than either of the
races they spring from." I have been in Ladák for over four
years, and have had a good deal more experience of Ladákis
than Mr. Drew had, and I have no hesitation in saying that he
has maligned them, as a whole.

Under the "nikah" system, it of course happens that in the course of 563
half a dozen years, a woman may have had half a dozen different 583
husbands, and as many different families. In such 851
cases the children of all but the last husband, are homeless 114
waifs, and develop into persons such as Mr. Drew describes,
but it also frequently happens that "nikah" marriages are not

arrangement serves with them for a hinge. 000

[62] HOE--pharooa (large spade-like implement for digging) thoktsey (small narrow implement used for weeding or digging up earth round roots of flowers, etc.). 241

[63]
HOT SPRING--chhootshan. There are a good many of these, the principal ones being at Pooga, Panámik, Changlung ShooSHól, and Kiám. The Kiám spring which is the hottest, has a temperature of 179° and is impregnated with soda and sulphur. 133

HOUR--chhootshot i.e., water measure--so called because the Dógras, who first taught the Tibetans to count time by the hour, used for an hour glass, a brass bowl so made, with a small hole in it, that when placed in a pan of water, it floated for exactly an hour, after which owing to the weight of water gradually taken in through the hole, it sank. 804 177

HOUSE--khángpa or khampa (general), khar (of a king), zimskhang (of a great man), táSHak (of a Láma not residing in a monastery), zimSHak or zimSHung (of a "skooSHok" or "incarnation". These persons never live in a monastery but have quarters close by) khángzhik or khángoo (a small hut) GHunsa (the word means "winter place" and is used to indicate the house in a village occupied by a villager during the winter) yártsa (meaning "summer place" is used to indicate the house out in the fields, where the cultivator lives during the summer, so as to be near his work). 342

HOVEL--khángoo or khangzhik (a small and poor house) pooloo (the small dry stone wall shelter-places to be found near the tops of mountain passes and in other out of the way places, sometimes with slab-stone roof, generally without any roof, but never containing any wood work, as this would inevitably be stolen and used for fire-wood).

[64]
HUSBAND--toks or troks or zhidmat. The words mean also "wife". Polyandry is almost universally practised among the Buddhists of Ladák. Matrimony and the law of entail (which see) are closely connected. The eldest son inherits the whole of the family property, and he it is who is entitled to marry a wife. 601 590 428 583

595 If he has only two brothers, they both become the "de facto"
428 husbands of his wife, but if he has more than two brothers, some
583 of them must become Lámas (priests), or must leave the paternal
601 roof, and make their own way in the world, as not more than two
[592] brothers can share the wife of their eldest brother. The wife addresses her real husband, that is to say, the eldest brother, who alone has gone through the ceremonies of betrothal and marriage, as "ácho" or in polite language "káGHa," while she calls the two younger brothers "no" or "káGHa chhungan".

601 The "ácho" husband speaks to his wife as "achey," while the "no" husbands speak to her as "nómo." Speaking of the wife, all brothers call her their "áney" or "zhidmat". Another person speaking of this woman and her husbands would describe the woman as being the "zhidmot" (wife), of the góboo (eldest brother) parma (middle brother), and tháchhungan (little brother).

586 If the woman has no child by these husbands, other arrangements are made, but see under "Re-marriage".

595 According to the Ladák usage, a woman may have 3 brothers as her
587 husbands at the same time, but she cannot (unless divorced) marry another husband while any of these brothers live. After they are all dead, she may marry another man, but as a matter of fact, she never does so, if she has any children.

583 A "makpa" is the husband selected by an heiress; he is generally a
586 younger brother of a family of more than 3 brothers, and he is, therefore, glad to be married to a woman who will support him.

The "makpa" is the property of his wife she can turn him out whenever she pleases, and call in another "makpa" if so inclined; but as a matter of fact this is seldom done.

428 If there are daughters, but no sons in a family, the eldest daughter
583 becomes the heir to the family property, and occupies the position which the eldest son, had there been one, would have held. Instead of being given in marriage, she selects a single husband for herself, or her parents do it for her, and such a husband is called a "makpa." From this custom it may be inferred
[595] that the ladies of Ladák do not approve of polyandry, for how, otherwise, can we account for the fact, that while the pauper has several husbands at the same time, the heiress has never more than one.

778 [65]IDOL--skunda or skoo. There is no invidious meaning attached to this word, a Buddhist speaks of his clay god as a "skunda."

585 can do so, but the fact of its not being given, does not invalidate the marriage. It is considered the correct thing to give a marriage feast, for the giving of it gratifies the vanity of the person concerned, and what is far more important, if no feast is given, the bridegroom gets no "raktak" with his bride. In most oriental countries it is customary to marry a girl, at latest, so soon as she reaches the age of puberty, but in Ladák a bride is generally as much as 16 years old before she is married. Should it turn out, as not infrequently happens, that the bride is not a virgin, the bridegroom does not take it amiss, not on philosophic grounds, but because he really deems it a matter of no importance.

595 585 Younger brothers of the bridegroom take no part in the marriage ceremony, though after the whole of the ceremonies are over, they become by right co-husbands, whether the lady likes it or not, and whether the elder brother likes it or not.

583 585 The ceremonies observed at makpa weddings are similar to those of the pakston wedding, with this difference that instead of the bride being taken away to the bridegroom's house and becoming his property, the bridegroom remains at the bride's house, and becomes her property.

583 MARRY TO--pakston cho ches, to marry in the ordinary way. Pakston tang ches, to give in marriage. Makpa khiong ches to take a "makpa" husband, and makpa chha (or khier) ches, to be taken in marriage as a "makpa" husband (for "makpa" see "Husband)."

231 439 MASTIFF--zang-khee or cháng-khee. The zang khee is the real Tibetan mastiff, the cháng-khee is the Chángthang half-bred looking mastiff. The pure mastiffs are procurable only in Lhása; they are very handsome, but costly to purchase, and quite useless, as they very seldom become properly domesticated. They won't follow well, and they can't march or stand the slightest heat.

[100]

311 MEADOW--ól-tháng (a field of lucerne grass). There are no grass fields in Ladák, though turf is found near the edge of a stream.

264 262 MEAL--pakphey (atta), záches (food). The following are the meals eaten by a Ladáki during the day, viz., (1) chheenan taken at dawn, and consisting of satoo: with tea or milk; (2) tsáma or tsálma taken about 10 o'clock, and consisting of satoo and tea, (3) pharma taken at noon, and consisting of satoo and tea, with

think the Ladákis show much inclination to join the Moravian 797
congregation. A Roman Catholic Mission has more recently been established here, and may possibly prove more successful, as a proselytizing agency, for apparently, there exists an extraordinary similarity between the mystical ceremonial of the Lamaistic ritual, and that of the Romish Church. Religious 595
considerations apart, the Ladákis would do well to adhere to the 779
faith of their forefathers, for Christian Missionaries will never 114
agree that Christianity and polyandry can exist together, they will therefore induce their disciples to drop the practice, though on the day that polyandry ceases to be general, the sun of the country's prosperity will set for ever. Polyandry and Lamaism most effectively check the increase of population, and the consequence is that every one is fairly well off, the people are happy and crime is rare. [674]
With a non-Buddhist population, all this would be changed, the country would be rapidly overpopulated, and the people steeped in poverty, misery and crime. The three acres, a cow and a wife principle may be well enough in countries having a landed gentry [311]
to be despoiled, or vacant lands to be taken up, but for Ladák, where there is no land to be got, and no country suitable for [167]
the emigration of a surplus population, it would amount to an economic error, to encourage the introduction of any innovation, having an undeniable tendency towards the ultimate abolition of the practice of polyandry.

[105]

MOLE--SHmeya or rmeya. Ladákis think that a mole on a woman's face is a beauty. 826

MONK--Láma (general,) geylong (a full monk), geytshul or tsunchhung or chhungjung (a neophyte), but see under heading "Láma." 792

MOP--sumba. In Ladák a mop is made by fastening on to the end of a stick, a piece of sheep skin, with the wool left on it.

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MORNING--hngamo (general), ngeema tsikSHar (sun, rise) ngeema-tsalm breakfast time about(10 o'clock). ngeema ngeenggung (mid-day). For "good morning," the word "joo" is ordinarily used; but if a layman addresses a Láma, or when one Láma wishes another "good morning," the word "chhaktshal" is used.

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red and yellow sects. The women of Ladák do not wear petticoats. Their dress consists of patoo trousers and a patoo garment in which bodice and skirt or petticoat are joined together. The skirt part of this garment is called "hmadGHak" or hmad-yok", and the bodice part "stotGHak."

776 PHANTOM--hlandey or hlandrey--the name of a class of spirits, supposed to appear in various forms, and then to suddenly vanish out of sight; zumthhrul or zumthhul or chhumthhrul or chhumthhul, as a mirage; namSHet or namSHes, the ghost of a dead person; SHeelok, one returned from the dead. But see "Resurrection."

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PHYLACTERY--srunga or SHunga. The Buddhists of Ladák obtain from their Lámás, extracts, or texts, from their sacred books, printed on paper or longcloth, etc., these they enclose in a silver or copper casket (kabzóma) worn like a locket. The poorest people wrap them up in paper and tie them to a string worn round the neck or waist. [121] The men sometimes fasten them to their caps, and the women to their headdresses (peyrák). A Buddhist never wears a charm on his arm or wrist as a Hindoo or Mahomedan might do.

[121]

788 PILGRIMAGE--hnasjal or jala. Ladakis go on pilgrimages to Trilóknath, the Manasarwar lake, Jowála Mukhi and other places of Hindoo pilgrimage.

276 PIPE--kanzak, or respectfully zhalzak, a tobacco pipe with a straight stem, about 10 inches long, and with small round bowl. They are made of brass or iron, and sometimes silver plated. This is the pipe of the traveller and of the villagers. Townspeople use the Indian pipe which they call "cheelam" or "gurguri cheelam." The Baltistán pipe, which is also used by Ladakis, is called "roocho-cheelam," or respectfully "doncheelam" "poori" a pipe for conducting water, etc.; "oldong" the windpipe.

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[123]POLYANDRY--There is no word for this. Polyandry is almost universal among the Buddhists of Ladak. For further information, see under the heading "Marriage." It is said that polyandry induces leprosy, but in Ladak the disease is unknown, though

in the neighbouring province of Baltistan, where there is no polyandry, it is common enough. 595 753

POSSESSED--hlá zhukskhan or hlaba (of a good or evil spirit). The first word is used to signify a man only while actually under the influence of the spirit. Hlaba is applied to a person who is at [124] times so possessed. But see under "Festival." Gongpo (or feminine gongmo) is the term applied to the "spirit" with which a person is "possessed." 787

PRAYER WHEEL--máney chhos khor (general); máney lak skor (hand prayer wheel); mánkey chhoo skor (water-power prayer wheel). The prayer wheel consists of a cylindrical-shaped box, made, in the case of the hand prayer wheels, of copper, and in the case of the large prayer wheels worked by water-power, of wood. The cylinder revolves on a pivot which passes through its centre, and the lower part of which serves as a handle, while at the upper extremity is affixed a metal cap, to keep the cylinder in position. The cylinder is filled with rolls of paper, on which are written prayers or texts. [125] As the cylinder revolves, the texts also revolve, and as each revolution of a prayer is equivalent in merit to its repetition, and as hundreds of prayers are revolved with each revolution of the cylinder, it is clear that, according to Buddhist ideas, much value attaches to the máney chhos-khor. To the centre of the cylinder, of the hand wheel, is attached a light chain, about three inches long, and having a small weight fastened to its extremity; thus when once the wheel has been set in motion, it requires very little effort to keep it going. Máney skor ches is "to cause a prayer wheel to revolve." 788

[126]PRIMOGENITURE--góboo-i-thoptáng-i-thims (or thrims). The law of primogeniture prevails in Ladák. But see under "Entail." 428

PRINCE--giálpo or giápo or rgiálpo (ruler); giáloo or rgiáloo (child of ruler); SHráspo or sráspo (male infant child of ruler). 565 601

PRINCESS--giámo or rgiámo (female ruler or wife of ruler); SHrásmo or srásmo, (the female infant child of a ruler).

RAVEN--chhosskiong or phorok. This bird is held in reverence and 825
never killed. But see under "Omen."

[132]RECRUIT--seepa sóma. 701

[133]REMARRY TO--yång hlokstey pakston cho ches. The first wife 587
of a man is called his "changchhen," if she has no children, 595 ●
or if he is rich enough to keep two families, he may marry a
second wife, who is called his "changchhungan," and if she
too is childless, or if he can afford to keep three families, he
may marry a third wife, who is called his "yångchhungan."
So long as these three are alive, he may not marry a fourth
wife. If one wife dies, another wife may be taken in her
place. As a matter of fact, the Ladåkis are much too poor [511]
to wish to support more than one wife in a family, and it is
only the necessity for having children, who will one day re- [651]
lieve them of the "forced labour" duties attaching to the
possession of land, that induces them to [134] remarry. If a
man and his brothers have got, in common, three living
wives and yet no child, they may not get another wife, but
may call in to their family circle another man, to be a hus-
band to their wives; this man is termed a "phortsak." If he
too begets no child, still another man, called "pho-chhun-
gan," may be called in. If he too is childless, the original 597
husband and wife must resort to adoption. In the case of the 586
death of the eldest husband of a woman, the latter is at 768
liberty to divorce herself, in the manner described (see "Di-
vorce)." After this she must leave her late husband's house,
leaving with her husband's family any children she may have;
she is then at liberty to marry again, and so on, for nine
times, after which she must be content to remain a widow.
If she does not divorce herself from the husband's corpse, she 595
becomes, or rather remains, the wife of the younger brothers. 768
She cannot remain in her late husband's house, and in pos-
session of her children, unless she continues to remain the
wife of the younger brothers. As a matter of fact, a Ladåki
woman, unless she is childless, never leaves her original hus-
band's home. In any case, it is considered improper for a 765
man or woman to remarry within a year of the death of his, 587
or her, wife or husband, and during this period of mourning a
widower is termed "yoóksåpo" and a widow "yooksåmo." If

594 as that of the Bagpo who takes his bride (bag-ma) into his
855 father's house. The Bagpo finally becomes the master of the entire property, in his capacity as heir in his father's house, when the father bequeathes this property to him. But in the
[562] case of the Magpa relationship the daughter who marries the Magpa is the heiress and the mistress in the house after the death of the father. She has full authority over the property (the house, field and cattle), over the children which are the offspring of this marriage, and finally also over her husband. If there should be a disagreement with the latter which is not evened out in due time, the woman has the right to turn the Magpa out of the house and to choose a new one, something which happens quite often and is carried out without many scruples. It also happens that the Magpa by his efficiency gains a respected position and decisive influence in the house
[595] and in the clan of his bride. In Central and East Tibet it happens that as many as two or three men are taken into one house as Magpa of one or more girls, sisters of the same parents.

000 to-do farmer Oltangpa (house name, meaning "Clover-fielder") in the village of Tagmachig beyond the Indus River. The youngest of the three brothers entered, when he was only seven years old, as pupil (btsun-ĉuñ) the monastery Ri-rdsong, which was one day's journey away and the monks of which were known for their strict observation of the rules of the order. There he gradually, in the course of the years, moved up the hierarchy of clerical dignities to become abbot (slob-dpon). One of Namgyal's sisters married as bag-ma into a house in Tingmogang. The youngest went into the convent as a nun and finally as recluse she moved into a /117/ small cell in the neighborhood of the hermitage of the pious hermit Tsetan in the nearby Skyinling gorge. The penchant for escape from the world and towards asceticism had for a very long time been apparent among many of the members of the mother's tribe. Several members of the family had played a part as abbots or heads of monasteries. With other members of the family the attraction towards the "world" had been all the stronger.

In this manner the problem of settling the future of the children in the house of Dragshos found a happy solution; and Namgyal saw himself in the privileged position of being able to enjoy all to himself the possession of his wife to, whom he had become increasingly attached as time went by, instead of having to share in the possession of one woman with several brothers in a polyandrous marriage. (129)

129. In large parts of Tibet and of Ladakh there prevails the custom of marriage with many men (polyandry). 545 In families with several sons, only the eldest son as a rule brings a wife into the house. This wife is after the wedding without further ceremony also considered the spouse of the remaining--rarely more than two--younger brothers. The oldest brother is regarded as the actual husband and owner of the woman, and he alone is entitled to rid himself of the woman through divorce when she has committed adultery or in any other way displeased him. The children are the property of the oldest [601] brother, of the master of the house; they call him "great father (a-p'a ĉen-mo)," the youngest brother they call "little father (a-p'a ĉuṅ-nuṅ)," and the middle brother (of three) they call "ap'a /sic/ bar-ma, middle father." Often one of the brothers marries as Magpa into another house, especially when there are more than three brothers in one household; or one of the younger brothers enters the monastery as lama and is taken care of there. In this way, and also through the frequent absence on business trips of one or several of the woman's husbands, the unnatural and repulsive aspects of this custom are somewhat lessened. The custom has its motivation in the endeavor to prevent the splitting up into many small parts of the field holdings which are usually small, are acquired with much toil and are expensive to begin with; and also to avoid overpopulation. It is therefore a measure of purely economic and social significance. Through continued distribution of the land among the heirs, there would soon come into existence tiny properties which would be unable to maintain a family. Tibet still has practically no industry and the few handicrafts (smith, carpenter) are practised exclusively by the low caste Aryans (Mon, Garba). Thus the brothers mostly stay together in the paternal house where they are very welcome as working hands; even a small holding can in this manner feed its occupants at least precariously. In so doing the "system" practically fulfills its purpose. True, it is so designed as to destroy the woman's feeling for purity and dignity. But it must be said that

But it must be said that

595 562 nevertheless the woman's position in general is a much higher and more dignified one than that of the woman in India, especially those in Hindu families. The Tibetan woman in the polyandrous marriage often occupies a highly honored, yes, even dominating influence as mother of the family and as mistress of the sacred hearth. Exceptions only go to prove the rule. Compare also Tafel, Meine Tibetreise /My Tibetan Journey/, Stuttgart, Berlin and Leipzig, Union Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, p. 342 ff.

Marital Life and Household.

002 Drogpa Namgyal and Chosskyid became an increasingly happy married couple. It is true that the talk before the marriage about Chosskyid's tendency towards frivolity had not been entirely unfounded. The atmosphere in her parental house was not a good one, her father was a man of the world who in no way took the third commandment of the Buddhists (130) literally. But when she was removed from the unhealthy environment of the parental home, and came under the influence of her husband who gave her support with a loving and firm hand, and when she was brought into the education of her husband's energetic grandmother, she developed into a faithful wife and an efficient housewife.

742 It was a great grief for her that she was denied a child for two years, all the more so since it is considered a disgrace for a Tibetan woman to be sterile (mo-śam). [781] Upon the advice of the hermit Tsetan, her husband called five lamas into the house, who for two days performed ceremonies (sku-rim) and mumbled prayers to the benign goddess, [776] the sovereign White Tara (sgrol-dkar), asking them to present Chosskyid with a son. During this time the lamas were entertained well and amply with food and drink. Lobsang Wanggyal also put a silver coin into the hand of each of the red-coats, as they were leaving. Despite all this Chosskyid continued to be denied the joys of motherhood. Thereupon the hermit advised her /118/ to do a pilgrimage to the nearby monastery of Tingmogang and to have new brass offering lamps placed before the image of the White Tara there. This she

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[779] 130. "Thou shalt not commit illicit sexual intercourse," says the third of the ten commandements of the Buddhists.

did and she also gave the sacrificial priest (mĉod-gnas) a few rupees 842
"for the monastery," which the priest received with a satisfied "Oh, Oh!" He then blessed her and assured her that her wish would now soon be fulfilled and that she would be delivered of a little boy. Meanwhile nothing of the kind happened. The lamas declared that perhaps unconsciously and without willing to do so, the Dragshos must have angered the Tara, so that their prayers and offerings had remained ineffective. The Dragshos people now let it go at that and did not bring any more offerings; the matter became too expensive, and Namgyal did not trust a single lama of the circle of his closer relatives any more, except the hermit Tsetan. Namgyal and his father had too often found themselves swindled by them. Within the following three years Chosskyid bore two girls; in the sixth year of their marriage there finally came the ardently desired son, a circumstance which caused great joy in the house of the Dragshos. By this the happiness of the young couple was increased and man and wife became even more strongly attached to one another.

How different was it in many another house in the village! 595
The polyandrous relationship was the cause of much conflict, quarreling 837
and jealousy; often the woman preferred one of the younger husbands to the oldest one who after all had a claim to the first right of a husband; often enough the younger husbands of one woman looked for compensation for lack of marital happiness outside the house. The man who goes on journeys cannot always be sure of the faithfulness of the wife he is leaving behind, especially when he is her sole owner; even less does the man who goes on travels remain bound to his promise to be faithful, during the time of his absence. Often the man sees only a maid in his wife, who must subordinate herself to him in all things and who must comply with all his moods and desires. Often he vents his displeasure with vicious maltreatment, and very frequently a complete break, a divorce (131), then takes place.

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131. Divorces often occur in Tibet and are not infrequently 586
brought about in the most frivolous manner. In the case of continuing unproductiveness of the woman, her unfaithfulness, or as a consequence of serious disagreement between man and wife, the man dismisses his wife; and frequently the latter also leaves her husband if he maltreats her. The old royal law (rgyal-k'rims) states that the guilty party, the one who breaks up the marriage must pay the other party compensation

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592 **Chapter III, B.**

184 **Social and Religious Life.**

104 Constitution of the family.

" *Kang chinpa*, or occupant of the big house, that is eldest son.

" *Kang chungpa*, or occupant of the small house, that is the father.

" *Yang chungpa*, or occupant of even a smaller house, that is the grandfather.*

" The grandfather gets a field for his maintenance, but not from the *kang chinpa*. His own son, that is the father, is considered responsible, and not the grandson. *Dútalpa* is one who has nothing but a house, being literally a smoke-maker (*dut*=smoke.)" 1

428 Custom of inheritance in Láhaul.

The custom of primogeniture prevails in the *thákur's* families of Láhaul. On the death of the father the eldest son succeeds. As long as his brothers live with him, they are maintained and called little *thákurs*, but when they set up house for themselves, they get a small allotment of *garhpan*, under the name of *dotoenzing* or younger son's land, upon which they have to maintain themselves. After lapse of two or three generations the descendants of younger sons become like other landholders and have to do some service or pay some rent to the *thákur*. Among the subordinate landholders all sons are considered entitled to equal shares of their father's holding, but in practice they seldom divide, and live on with wife, land, house and chattels in common. When asked to defend this repulsive custom of polyandry, they say that their holdings are too small to divide, and that experience shows them that it is impossible for two sisters-in-law, with separate husbands and families, to live together, whereas two or more brothers with a common wife can agree. In Pattan, where the Hindú element prevails in the population, and where the holdings are somewhat larger and more productive, many brothers have married separately, and divided house and lands. A very few have done so in Gárá and Rangloi also. In such families the custom which has hitherto prevailed, with regard to inheritance of the shares of brothers who die without issue, is quite clear; such share has always gone to the brothers with whom the deceased lived in unison, or to his issue, to the exclusion of all claim on the part of the separated branch of the family. The most exceptional point in the custom of inheritance prevailing in Láhaul is the fact that, in default of sons, a daughter succeeds to her father's whole estate in preference to nephews or other male kinsmen, provided that, before her father's death, she has not married and settled down to live on her husband's holding away from home. If she is married and living with her husband in her father's house, she succeeds, and if she is unmarried, she can hold for life as a maid, or can at any time marry and take her husband to live with her. Supposing such a husband and wife to die without issue, it appears to be doubtful who would have the best claim to succeed them; whether the next of kin to the wife or to the husband. But it is agreed that the survivor of the two might lawfully give the estate to any member of either of the two families.

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428 Custom of inheritance in Spiti.

The constitution of the Spiti family has just been described as a system of primogeniture whereby the eldest son succeeds in the lifetime of his father. The working of this system in the case of

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* *Kang*, house ; big ; *chung*, small ; [illegible] (Hindi) ; *yang*=over or *par*, as in *pardáda* (Hindi), one beyond.

[1 QUOTATION FROM MR. ANDERSON. -- ANALYST]

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Social and Religious Life.

Custom of inheritance in Spiti.

proprietory holdings of the first class is described in Section 428
D. In the case of the little plots held by people of the
dotul class, father and son live on together, as the land is too small 592
to be divided, and there are no responsibilities which the father 565
could transfer with the land to the son. In the same way two or [595]
more brothers of this class live on together, often with a wife in
common, till one or other, generally the weakest, is forced out to [465]
find a subsistence elsewhere. Working for food or wages, and not
the plot of land, is the chief source of subsistence to these people.
Sometimes the son of a *dotul* becomes a monk, but, as a rule, this 792
profession is confined to the younger sons of the regular landholders,
who take to it of necessity, but get as maintenance the produce of 428
a field set aside as *tao* or *tásing* (from *tába*, another word for *lámá*). 595
It is, however, only the second son who is entitled to claim *tásing*,
and many do not take it from their elder brothers, and have all in common with him, including their income from begging, funeral fees, &c. This is to the advantage of the elder brother, as a celibate monk's expenses are of course very small. When there are more than two brothers, the younger ones, though they cannot get *tásing*, are considered entitled to some subsistence allowance from the head of the family, but in return they do certain kinds of work for him in the summer, during which season only the elder monks remain in the monasteries. For instance, as long as they are *chamba* or *getsal*, that is, neophytes or deacons, and not *gelong* or fully-ordained monks or priests, they will carry loads and do all field work except ploughing; when *gelong*, they will cook, feed cattle and sheep, and do other domestic services, but not carry loads or
cut grass or wood. But "once a monk always a monk" is not the [587]
law in Spiti. Supposing the head of a family to die and leave a young widow, with no son or a son of tender age only, then the younger brother, if there is one, almost always elects to leave the monastery, and thereupon he is at once considered his brother's widow's husband. She cannot object, nor is any marriage ceremony necessary. If there was a son by the elder brother, he of course succeeds when of full age, and his mother and uncle retire to the small house, and the other sons, if any, go into the monasteries in the usual way. So, again, if the head of the family has only daughters, and having given up hope of getting a son, wishes to marry one of the daughters and take her husband into the house as a son and heir, it generally happens that the younger brother in the monastery objects, and says that he will leave the priesthood and beget a son. In such case his right to do so is generally allowed: sometimes he will marry a wife to himself, and put his elder brother in the small house; sometimes, by agreement, he will cohabit with his sister-in-law in hope of getting a son by her. A monk who throws off the frock in this way has to pay a fine to his monastery. Many decline to become laymen: this is a rule in the case of those who have attained to the grade of *gelong*. Where the *lámá* brother declines, then it is agreed that in the lower part of the valley (*i.e.*, *kothís* Pin and Sham), the father or widow-mother can take a son-in-law to live in the house and succeed as son and heir, and no kinsmen (if there are any) can object. In the upper part of the

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Custom of inheritance in Spiti.

valley this right does not appear to be so clearly established: the objections of near kinsmen are sometimes attended to, or a field or two given to them by way of compromise. Kinsmen, however, are of course very few, as the only way in which a younger brother can found a separate family is by becoming son-in-law and adopted son to another landholder. Such a man might claim on behalf of his younger son, but not on his own behalf or that of his eldest son, as it is a rule that for each holding or allotment there must be a separate resident head of the house to do service for it, as well as pay the revenue. Sometimes an illegitimate descendant of the family, who has been living on the estate as a *yáng champa*, will claim as a kinsmen and succeed, but he cannot be said to have any absolute right or title. Unmarried daughters of a landholder are entitled to maintenance from their father, brother, or nephew, that is from the head of the family for the time being; he must either let them live in his house on equal terms with his own family, or must give them a separate house and plot of land; they forfeit their claim if they go away to live in any other man's house, but no other act of theirs will entitle their father or his successor to cast them off, or resume the house and plot of land once given during their life-time. Many women live and die as spinsters in their father's or brother's houses: their chance of marriage is small, as all younger sons become monks, and the monks are bound to celibacy (except in Pín *kothí*), and bigamy is only allowed in the case of the head of a family who has no son or expectation of getting one by the wife he first marries. In case the brother-in-law of a widow does not come out of the monastery to take his deceased brother's place, or in case there are no brothers-in-law, the widow can marry again, and does not forfeit her interest in the estate by so doing so long as she continues to reside on it: on the contrary, in default of issue by the first husband, the children by the second will succeed to the estate. She can marry any person of the same class as herself: if there happens to be a near kinsman available, she would be expected to select him, but whether it would be absolutely obligatory on her to do so is not quite clear. A marriage feast is given to celebrate the event.

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Customs and ceremonies connected with births, marriages, funerals, &c.

The best general account of the social customs of the Botiás[1] will be found in General Cunningham's *Ladákh*; but in the country now under discussion, and especially in Láhaul, the practice of the present day be found to differ in some details. The religious ceremony consists in almost all cases in the simple reading of prayers or passages from the holy books by a *lámá*, while the whole company of men and women sit round with clasped hands and down-cast eyes, and repeat the verses after the *lámá*. The social celebration of all these events consists mainly of feasts in which much *cháng* is drunk. In Láhaul the decisive point in the negotiation for a betrothal is the acceptance or refusal of a pot of *cháng* sent to the father of the bride: if he drinks, the affair is settled without more words. In Láhaul, polyandry, or the taking to wife of one woman by several brothers, is a recognized institution, and is very general; the object is to prevent the division of estates. Mr. Lyall remembers a case which came before him in which one of two brothers living in polyandry much wished to separately marry a girl by whom he had had an illegitimate

[1] [i.e., Tibetans. See Source #1: Cunningham, West Tibetans File. -- Analyst]

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Social and Religious Life.

Customs and ceremonies connected with births, marriages, funerals, &c.

child, but the wife of the family objected strongly, claiming both 595
brothers as husbands, and refusing to admit another woman into the 184
household, and she eventually prevailed. In Spiti polyandry is not
recognized, as only the elder brother marries and the younger ones
become monks; but there is not the least aversion to the idea of
two brothers cohabiting with the same woman, and it often happens
in an unrecognized way, particularly among the landless classes, who
send no sons into the monasteries.

In Spiti when the bridegroom's party goes to bring the bride 585
from her father's house, they are met by a party of the bride's
friends and relations who stop the path; hereupon a sham fight of 184
a very rough description ensues, in which the bridegroom and his
friends, before they are allowed to pass, are well drubbed with good
thick switches. In Spiti if a man wishes to divorce his wife with- 586
out her consent, he must give her all she brought with her, and a
field or two besides by way of maintenance; on the other hand, if a 184
wife insists on leaving her husband, she cannot be prevented from so
doing; but if no fault on the husband's side is proved, he can retain
her jewels; he can do so also if she elopes with another man, and in
addition can recover something from the co-respondent by way of
fine and damages. There is a recognized ceremony of divorce which
is sometimes used when both parties consent. Husband and wife
hold the ends of a thread, repeating meanwhile "one father and
mother gave, another father and mother took away: as it was not
our fate to agree, we separate with mutual good will"; the thread is 587
then severed by applying a light to the middle. After a divorce a
woman is at liberty to marry whom she pleases; if her parents are
wealthy, they celebrate the second marriage much like the first, but
with less expense; if they are poor, a very slight ceremony is used.

Corpses are ordinarily burnt, and the ashes thrown into a river,
or made into a figure of the deceased, and deposited in a *chorten* 764
or pyramidical cenotaph in the case of great men. Burning is the
only practice in Láhaul, but in Spiti the dead are sometimes ex- 184
posed on the hills to be eaten by wild beasts, or cut into small pieces
and thrown to dogs and birds according to the custom of Great
Tibet, where these beneficent methods of disposing of the body are
philosophically preferred as most likely to be pleasing to the
Heavenly Powers. In the public rooms of some of the Spiti monas-
teries you are shown masonry pillars which contain the bodies of
deceased abbots buried there in full canonicals in a sitting posture.

Of polyandry, Mr. Anderson writes :— 595

"Polyandry exists more or less on all the three rivers of Láhaul; but 177
it is dying out. This probably arises from an improvement in the condi-
tion of the people, which has also produced greater division of families.
The custom of polyandry is now considered shameful and is not willingly
admitted. The younger brothers will allege that the woman is their elder [438]
brother's wife, not theirs. Trade has very much increased during the last
ten years; the male population has now many new ways of earning a living,
and hence the circumstances that gave rise to this custom are disappearing
and with them the custom itself. It is not customary to marry young, [582]
women being generally between fifteen and twenty years of age (*vide*
Cunningham's Ladákh, page 289). Even the better classes have, as a rule,

Chapter III, B.

Social and Religious Life.

The Buddhism of the Punjáb Himalayas.

595 only one wife, unless she should have no son. Women are not married in
Láhaul merely to till their husband's land. It is very common to engage
177 labourers for that purpose."

The Buddhism of Spiti and of the higher parts of Páng in
779 Chamba, the only portions of the Punjáb whose inhabitants have
returned themselves as Buddhists, is the Lámáism of Tibet, perhaps
177 the most utterly corrupt form of the religion of Gautama. We have
already seen how largely, so soon as we enter the Himalayas, the
Hindúism of the plains becomes impregnated with the demonology
of the mountain tribes. A similar fate befell Buddhism in the
mountain ranges of Central Asia. To the mysticism, with which the
northern school had already clothed the original simple creed, have
been added the magic and devil-worship of the Tantras and the impure
cult of the female principle or Sakti, till the existing system is a superstition
rather than a religion. "As in India the Bráhmans have declared
all the ancient village *thákurs* and *devís* to be only so many different
forms of Mahádeo and Parbati, so in Tibet the *lámás* have craftily
grafted into their system all the ancient gods and spirits of the former
776 inhabitants. Hence, though Buddhism is the prevailing religion
of the country, yet the poorer people still make their offerings to
779 their old divinities, the gods of the hills, the woods and the
dales. The following are some of the classes of deities which
177 are worshipped under distinct Tibetan names: Mountain Gods,
River Gods, Tree Gods, Family Gods, Field Gods, and House Gods.
The mystical system of the Tantrists has been engrafted on the
Buddhism of Nepal and Tibet, and the pictures of the prevailing
sects are filled with representations of the three-eyed destroying
Iswara and of his blood-drinking spouse,* while the esoteric doctrines
include the filthy system of Buddha Saktis, or female energies
of the Pancha Dhyáni Buddhas, in which the *yoni*, or female
symbol, plays a prominent part." The wrath of Káli is daily de-
[796] precated in the religious service of the temples,† trumpets
made of human thigh bones are used, and offerings are made to
the Buddhas in which even meat is included, though one of the
precepts most rigidly insisted on by Gautama was a regard for
animal life. The priests "foretell events, determine lucky and
787 unlucky times, and pretend to regulate the future destiny of the
dying, threatening the niggard with hell, and promising heaven,
[793] or even eventually the glory of a Buddha, to the liberal. Their
great hold upon the people is thus derived from their gross igno-
779 rance, their superstitions, and their fears; they are fully imbued
789 with a belief in the efficacy of enchantments, in the existence of
malevolent spirits, and in the superhuman sanctity of the *lámás* as
their only protection against them. The *lámás* are therefore

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[*] The image of Iswara has a snake round his waist, carries a thunderbolt or a sword in his right hand, and is trampling human beings beneath his feet. He is represented as frantic with anger, his eyes staring, his nostrils dilated, his mouth wide open, and his whole body surrounded by flames. His spouse is of a blood-red colour, and wears a necklace of skulls; in her right hand is a sceptre surmounted by skulls and the holy thunderbolt, while with her left she carries a cup of blood to her mouth. A circle of flames surrounds her body.

[†] This service is described at length in Chapter XIII of Cunningham's Ladákh; it bears no little resemblance to the ceremonies of the Roman Catholic Church.

CHAPTER 18

HOW MANY HUSBANDS DO YOU HAVE?

595

Polyandry is a form of polygamy. But instead of the husband having several wives, the wife has several husbands. Ladakh is not the only place in the world where polyandric marriages have existed. But it is one of the few places where they still thrive. They thrive there despite the fact that Kashmir has outlawed them.

595 182 Some say polyandry exists where there is a scarcity of women; that when there are not enough women to go around, a social-religious institution is created enabling one woman, with propriety, to do double or treble or quadruple service. That was probably the origin of polyandry in the plains of India where long ago there were in places a scarcity of women owing to female infanticide. Others say that polyandry was introduced into Ladakh and Tibet to take care of the special needs of family life there. The man of the house customarily spends more than half the year away from home with caravans, or with sheep and goats, or on pilgrimages. There is the need to protect the women and

the children during his long absences and to maintain a standard 595
of connubial fidelity. So the wife is given protection and com- 182
panionship of extra husbands. Teddy Roosevelt, Jr., who passed through Ladakh about thirty years ago on a hunting expedition, reported in his book, *East of the Sun and West of the Moon,* that polyandry served greatly to ameliorate the lot of the woman in this region. I found no evidence of that. The woman in Ladakh is the work horse of the family. When she marries she takes up the great burden of children, the house, and the fields. Unmarried women are spry, pretty, and gay. Married women are old by thirty. A few years of married life makes them bent and silent and wan. Polyandry, if designed to cater to the woman, has failed in its purpose.

In some regions polyandry may have been designed to cut down 595
the number of babies. The scarcity of food is thought by some to 168
have been the reason for the introduction long ago of the polyandric marriage into a few remote sections of the Kulu Valley. A related reason is sometimes advanced for the introduction of polyandry into Tibet and Ladakh. The view is that it was imported by the lamas as an instrument of control. This region does not produce much food. If the population curve were to go up, there would not be enough food to go around. Population is held in check by reducing the number of wives. That means more food for everyone as fewer babies are born. That means that the monasteries, bulging with food, need not fear a growing discontent among the masses who starve so that the lamas may eat. The purpose, if such it was, is lost in history. But the effect of polyandry is plain. The population of Ladakh has long remained practically stationary; and the food supply of the lamas has in no way been threatened.

Another theory behind polyandry also traces to a purpose that 595
serves the interest of the monasteries. The idea is that if a woman 182
has several husbands there will likely be discontent and rivalry 792
among the men. The wife will have favorites; and there will be

595 some husbands who will not share fully in the connubial bliss.
182 They will be apt to turn their backs on marriage and retire to the
792 monasteries to become lamas.

595 All of these reasons¹ may contribute to the invention and spread
428 of polyandry in Ladakh and Tibet. But the chief reason is the
law of primogeniture. In this region the land, on the death of the
father, passes to the eldest son. That has the advantage of keeping
an estate intact, of preventing it from being pulverized into many
pieces. Otherwise, family units might become so small as to be
[735] uneconomic. Proponents of primogeniture say that if the estates
were pulverized, starvation would be the fate of those who, even
with large farms, barely keep at the subsistence level.

But if all the land goes to the eldest son, the younger ones are cast out and nothing is left for them. New land in this bleak and barren country is not readily had. There are no frontiers where untapped, fertile land can be opened to settlement. And there will be none unless vast irrigation projects are undertaken. There is no industry to which the younger sons can turn. There are precious few trades that will absorb them. The economy is almost exclusively agricultural. The younger sons must look to the land for their livelihood unless perchance they become lamas, or try to develop caravan routes, or leave the country completely.

The problem, therefore, was to keep all the sons on the ancestral plot of ground and yet preserve the old home place as a unit. If each son moved in with a wife, there would probably be trouble. Even if there were no trouble, there would be many babies and an increasing number of mouths to feed.

595 And so several reasons may have combined to build each gen-
eration of sons around one wife. This woman, who became the
wife of the eldest son, became the wife of each of his brothers.
The first-born son—whatever husband be the father—became the
[601] heir. The eldest husband is called Father; each of his brothers is
called Little Father. In the eyes of the law, each has equal access
to the wife and she has equal obligations to all the brothers. In

¹ [See p.179 -- ANALYST]

practice she may reject the husbandly advances of any of the hus- 595
bands or she may demand the husbandly attentions of all of them.

But the polyandric system in Ladakh is not a pure and unadul- 595
terated one. It bows to expediency. In theory, there is only one 178
wife. Often there are two or perhaps three in a family. The first wife may be sickly. Or she may be so busy bearing children that she cannot work in the fields. Or the burden of the children, the house, and the fields may be too great for any one woman. And so another woman is brought in as wife; and the bedroom acquires a communistic cast.

At times there will be no son to inherit the land. In that event 595
the eldest daughter takes all. Yet, if she has sisters, they too must 428
be provided for. And so the institution of the *magpa* was invented. The father who has no male heir looks around for a likely son-in-law. When the father finds a suitable candidate, he makes a proposition to him. If the chap will give up his family name and take the family name of the other family, he can marry the eldest daughter and their son will inherit the property. If this chap marries the eldest daughter, he automatically becomes the husband of all of her sisters. He becomes the *magpa*, the new head of the sonless family. And so when Mr. Gyalang marries Miss Dombos, he becomes Mr. Dombos.

Thus primogeniture in Ladakh and in Tibet has produced both 595
polyandry and polygamy. These institutions today have a great 428
hold on the people. The Kashmir government is not proud of 182
them. The educated people look down on them. The best families in Leh do not like to discuss the problem. But the roots of polyandry are deep; they are tied to the economy as well as to the customs of the people. And behind the scenes the lamas give the system spiritual and moral support. For the institution of primogeniture has long been thought to be sound in a land where the margin between subsistence and starvation is so narrow. And polyandry is sound by the standards of the lamas, who measure

595 428 the welfare of the state by the security and well-being of their
182 religious order.

595 The marriage of a woman to plural husbands, like the marriage
585 of a *magpa* to plural wives or the marriage of one man to one woman, is a simple affair in Ladakh. The relatives escort the bride to the groom's house, where prayers are read by a lama. The prayers are in part directed toward a separation of the gods of the bride's house from the gods of the groom's house. We of the West are not, in some respects, as wise as those of the East. But we do know that when the house of the bride is too closely associated with the house of the groom, trouble may ensue. We have our own terminology for the problem. The Ladakhis may be more realistic than we. They tackle the problem vigorously, though perhaps indirectly, by having the lamas exorcise the spirits of the house of the bride and keep them from the house of the groom. They know, as well as we do, that house gods can be troublesome. What the lama does is this. He has a vase in which he puts various charms. Then, after pronouncing incantations over the vase, he breaks it and thus destroys the entrance of the bride's house gods into the house of the groom.

The marriage ceremony is simple. It is merely a declaration by the lama that the couple are man and wife. Several days of entertainment follow, with the lamas reciting prayers every morning.

595 Divorce is even more simple. The wife in a polyandric marriage
586 or the *magpa* in a polygamous marriage gets a divorce merely by walking out. If the brothers want to get rid of their joint wife, the procedure is almost as simple. They merely tell her to go hence and, as damages, present her with a cow. But they must be unanimous to make the divorce that easy. If one brother wants her to stay, she need not go. If sisters decide their *magpa* is a poor bargain, they can dismiss him and present him with a horse in lieu of damages.

The wife of a polyandric marriage can get her divorce by getting up and walking out at any time. The husbands may send a

horse to fetch her back. But if she returns the horse and does not 595
come, that is the end of it. The divorce is final. The wife in a 586
polyandric marriage, on the death of her eldest husband, can get a divorce from the younger brothers by tying a thread to the finger of the deceased and to her finger and then cutting the thread.

Though marriage is a concern of the lamas, divorce is purely a concern of the families.

This was the story of polyandry and of the *magpa* that I heard discussed along the trails and in the villages of Ladakh. But I wanted to see for myself how the institutions flourished and functioned.

I learned that the polyandry system breeds prostitution. There 595
are in Ladakh about as many women as there are men. In Leh, 548
which has a population of 4,000, the men and women are about equal in numbers. There are sixty prostitutes in Leh. They cater to the caravans and to the Army garrison.

I also learned that polyandry among Buddhists has increased 595
the flow of Buddhist women into Moslem marriages. There is an 177
ancient mosque in Leh serving the religious needs of Moslems
who travel the caravan routes. Today about half the people of [795]
Leh are Moslems. Moslems are polygamous, in theory at least,
and take as many wives as their economic conditions permit. In
Ladakh that usually means that a Moslem has only one wife, for
women are expensive there as elsewhere. Buddhist women, left
out of a polyandric marriage and not choosing prostitution, turn 797
to the Moslem men and take their Buddhist charms and good-luck 177
pieces with them. To all outward appearances they become Moslems. The Moslem priest makes them wear a large piece of cloth under their hats and over their shoulders on threat that if they do not do so their hair will turn to snakes when they die. Buddhist women turning to Moslems for marriage, though outwardly Moslems, are probably Buddhists in their hearts for the rest of their

797 lives. For the beliefs and superstitions instilled by the lamas since
177 their girlhood are not easily displaced.

•595 I also learned that perhaps 50 per cent of the polyandric mar-
593 riages are happy ones. Many are not. One *magpa* affair I ran into is an unhappy one. This is the case of the Tingzingpa family of Khalatse below Leh. The man, imported into the family to provide the missing male line of descent, is in love not with the elder sister but with the younger one. The older sister is left out in the cold. She receives no husbandly attentions. In August 1951 she was planning to leave the home, go to Leh, and marry a Moslem.

The wife in a polyandric marriage, like a *magpa*, often has her favorites. I also found an example of that in Khalatse. The man's name is Thundup Drambuchanpa. He is a disconsolate, middle-aged man with five brothers. They are married to Phuti. Thundup thought he had first claim to Phuti. After all, he owned the whole family inheritance. It was he who married Phuti. His brothers were only the beneficiaries of his marriage. They should occupy second place and stay in the background. Not so. His youngest brother, Rigzen, had taken over. He got all the attention, all the affection of Phuti. Thundup was mad, thoroughly mad. Phuti and Rigzen would not even let him eat at the same table with them. He had to wait to eat until they finished. Then he got only the leftovers, and they were cold.

"Is that just?" he asked. "Why does not Rigzen leave?"

But Rigzen, with the connivance of Phuti, was there to stay. He had taken over the management of the farm and was squeezing Thundup out.

595 The reverse happened to Wangyal of Leh. He was isolated,
671 in fact quarantined, from the family life. The wife gave all her
428 devotion to the elder brother. When that happens in Ladakh, the younger brother commonly leaves the family. Some become coolies; others seek work in Yarkand, Kyelang, Srinagar, Manali; others become lamas. Wangyal did not want to do any of those things. The new law of Kashmir declared polyandry illegal; it

abolished primogeniture and decreed that on the death of the 595
father any son could get a partition of the ancestral home and 428
claim his fraction of it. [671]

That was what Wangyal decided to do. He would prove to the elder brother and their wife that he could not be frozen out of his family life.

And so he went to see the Tehsildar. But that was only the beginning of his troubles. The pressure of the village is on the side of the maintenance of the family and against the breaking up of the estate. The influence of the lamas is behind polyandry. The Tehsildar told Wangyal to go see his lamas at Spitok. He walked the six miles and walked back. Weeks passed. Nothing happened. For months he was shuttled between the lamas of Spitok and the officials of Leh.

"If I had money, perhaps I could bribe someone to do me [694]
justice," he complained to me. "But I am penniless."

"What do you plan now?"

"Perhaps I can find work in Srinagar," he said sorrowfully.

Younger sons frequently rebel. Girls about to be married to a 593
group of brothers sometimes defy the parental command. Chosk- 184
yit, who lived at Basgo, a village below Leh on the Indus, defied
her father. He ordered her to marry seven sons. She pleaded and
begged and eventually refused. She left Basgo at night and fled
to Leh. She was disowned and became an outlaw from her family.
Later she became a Christian, converted by the Moravian mis- [797]
sionaries at Leh. Her younger sister, however, obliged and married the seven brothers.

Such revolts as Choskyit's are not common. They seldom happen in the poorer families. But these days they happen more
frequently among the upper classes. A few years back, a prominent 593
Tibetan girl, educated abroad, married a boy in Lhasa. His mother 595
insisted that the girl be the wife of the younger brother too. She 184
flatly refused. The wrath of the family descended upon her. So she left and was gone five years. She would not return until a firm

593 595 agreement was made that she would be the wife of only the one 184 son. Thus are the rights of women being gradually asserted in this ancient, feudal system.

593 I visited a polyandric family in the village of Sankar, a mile or so north of Leh. It was a family of one wife, one child, and two husbands. Dombos was the name—Stobldan Dombos being the older brother; Tashi Dondrup Dombos, the younger; Nyangyal, the wife. They were a farm family with a few *kanals* of land under cultivation. Their house is a two-storied mud-and-stone affair with two rooms downstairs and one up. The bedroom is upstairs; and I discovered that Stobldan and Tashi Dondrup have a working rule governing the sharing of the wife. The one who is demanding her undivided attention leaves his shoes outside the closed bedroom door.

This was a gay, happy family. Nyangyal, tall and thin and with languid eyes, was eager to be photographed. The brothers were glad to co-operate. The atmosphere of the home was relaxed, not tense. Both brothers were hoping there would be more children on the way soon.

I visited the Gyalang family in Leh. This, again, is a family of one wife, Nordzin, and two husbands, Phuntzog the older and 465 Pamba the younger. They are as poor as church mice. Phuntzog makes sixty rupees (about twelve dollars) a month running the mail down to Spitok from Leh. They have a few *kanals* of land 291 which Pamba attends to. All of them are dressed in rags. Phuntzog and Pamba wore the typical Ladakhi dress. Their wool coats were loose, coarsely woven, and dyed red. Each had a dirty sash around his waist. Their stockings were of felt and knee-length. Their hats were a cap-like headdress with flaps on two sides that cover the ears in winter. Nordzin's dress (her only one) was a typical Ladakhi dress—coarse black wool with high neck, long sleeves, 515 full skirt. She never washes the dress. She takes it off at night, 735 and in the winter uses it as extra bedding. Sometimes she will hang it outside at night to rid it of lice. The day I took her picture

585 [189] bride. Before arriving at her future home, the bride and her escort are met by lamas who perform the service of *Gyagsrod*, that is, the driving away of any evil spirits which may have chosen to accompany the bride, and whose presence is not desired in her new abode. For this purpose the members of the future home have sent a new unused pot filled with dregs, which the lamas, after preliminary incantations, break, and with it throw away a *storma* or strewing oblation.

The lamas now enter the bridegroom's house, and the leader of the *nyopas* follows with the bride. Her new mother-in-law comes to meet her on the threshold of the living-room, bringing a plate on which is a present reposing on some barley, which latter serves to enhance the apparent size of the former. This plate is given to the bride's-maid, or *spamo*, but before receiving it, the bride must salute her new mother, ● [595] who reciprocates the greeting. The mother then leads her into the living-room, where, if she is only to marry one boy, she finds him sitting on a carpet, bearing the mystic sign and wearing the white head-dress; but if the brothers are also included, they all sit similarly side by side, while near them is an empty carpet for her, upon which is the sign "*nor bu gyas a kyil*," meaning "jewel."

When all, including the *nyopas*, are thus seated in a row, the bridegroom's mother rises and salutes the *nyopas* in turn, after which the bride and bridegroom are taken into the store-room and given refreshments, the leader of the *nyopas* accompanying them. Their plates having been filled, the leading *nyopa* removes their head-dresses, putting them on a plate. Then he says, "Which is quicker, bride or bridegroom?" at which challenge they compete with each other at snatching the food off their plates. In this little store-room the happy couple live for some days, and each of the near relatives brings them a small piece of the *drangyas* (cake) and presents. The *nyopas* spend the night dancing at the house, with only the shortest interval for sleep.

586 gaiety does not stand the test of time, divorce can be obtained
by payment of an animal. The Ladaki proverb thus states
[538] the situation : " If the husband is turned out he can demand
a pony, but the wife can expect a cow." The horse and cow
given need only be strong enough to walk round a dunghill.
If one of the pair dies and was the owner of the house, the
living partner is tied by a piece of string to the corpse of the
other, and when the string is broken by pulling on it, the
marriage-tie is also broken. Such means are only resorted to
if the living partner wishes to leave the house, but he or she
may remain if preferred. In the former case nothing need
be paid on leaving the house, and the party's own goods may
be taken away also. Thus each takes his or her own property,
and the one who was brought to the house must also pay for
a large part of the wedding festivities.

583 Obviously the easiest method of marrying is by stealing,
after which it is also much easier to divorce. An additional
advantage to the young people is that they may choose each
other instead of being subject to their parents' selection.
[565] Also little care is taken to preserve class.

If the divorcée returns to her parents' home, she is not
586 allowed to enter her parents' temple, and sometimes she is
614 not even allowed to sit in front of their fire-place, because at
marriage she joined another *paspun*.

587 A man or woman may marry a second time, but there are
● 595 no wedding festivities. Should the first wife bear her husband
no children, he may take a second one or *Chanchung*. If possible
she should be the younger sister of the first wife, if not, a
cousin or near relation. If she produces no posterity, the
husband must do without. The first wife retains priority of
rank. even though the second becomes a mother. If a *magpa*
and his bride have no children, a *Chanchung* is brought for
the *magpa*, she being a near relative of the heiress.

595 Before leaving the subject of marriage, we must say a
little more about the customs of polyandry, as Ladak is one

of the few countries remaining where it still obtains. Various 595 ●
economical reasons have been urged for this unusual pro-
cedure. The foremost is that it arose in order to keep down
the population in a land where sustenance of the body is so
hardly won from the dry soil, and the difficulty of transport
necessitates any small community being self-contained. A
second is that where the nomadic life prevailed, it was incon-
venient to trail many women and children around. But a
Ladaki himself will tell the questioner that the custom is of
royal institution, and is for the stabilizing of property. If
each of several sons possessed wife and family, how could
they all be supported on one landhold? Certainly the com-
ponent parts, after dividing into three or more shares, would
not be sufficient for any one family. This, therefore, is a
different way of stating the first reason alleged, and the
present method of tenure is much more economical. The
wife is brought for the elder son, and, as a matter of fact, only
one more brother is likely to share the lady's favours. The [792]
third son is probably given to the Church, and any more [582]
pass into other families as *makpas*. The *makpa* leaves his [764]
father's home and gods, as we have seen, adopts those of the [614]
heiress to whom he is wedded, and, when either of his parents
dies, he is not allowed even to touch the corpse, though he
may officiate fully in the case of the dead bodies of his bride's
parents. As our Buddhist serving-man put it: "My daughter
is of no profit to my corpse, save to say 'Father, Father!'
and weep, and throw a little barley behind me, but she must
not touch me." So does the marriage tie really become firmer [593]
than the relation between parents and offspring. In upper
Ladak, therefore, more than two brothers rarely share one
wife, as it is impossible, practically, for more than that number
to avoid quarrelling. If the eldest son approves of this second
bridegroom, and thinks that they will be able to share their
wife peaceably, the younger man is included in the wedding
ceremony. The white head-dress is given to him also by the

● 595 chief bridegroom, and the marriage-tie is as binding on him
as on his elder brother. In lower Ladak, however, where
more of the men-folk are away from home trading or travelling,
the link is said to be bearable between as many as five brothers.
423 The house and the land and all the children belong to the
428 eldest brother, whether the latter are his begetting or his
brothers', and the younger inherits all if the former predeceases
601 him. Hence the word for uncle is always *Aba
Chungun*, "little father."

763 At length must come the time when the Ladaki's "silver
cord is loosened," and his "golden bowl broken." He does
not, however, believe that his spirit returns to God who gave
it, but that it seeks a new habitation in one of the six existences,
764 decided by the deeds done in the life just ended. Immediately
the soul has set forth on this quest, the lama is hurriedly fetched
to read from the holy books and pronounce various charms.
764 The nearest relative must now break the corpse's neck, thus
614 setting free its spirit, and the body is then rolled up and
tied into a ball as far as this is possible. It is then carried by
one of the *paspun* into the family temple, or private chapel,
of the house. Nobody but a *paspun* is ever allowed to touch
the corpse, and if no male one exists, a woman has to perform
this duty. A candle is now lit, and food and drink provided
for the soul, which would suffer much during its search for
a fresh tabernacle were it not alleviated by the sustenance
[791] thus prepared. This is done for about one month. An appeal
is then made to the *Onpo*, whose researches settle the date and
even the time when cremation may be performed. In the
meantime mourners attend the house, who join the family
and their friends in bewailing the deceased with loud tones,
and help them to consume much butter-tea and flour. Every
newcomer provokes a fresh outburst of expression of sorrow.
The nearest female relation puts on her oldest clothes, and
shows her bereavement by looking as dishevelled and dirty
as possible.

476
556 receives half the crop in return for working the fields, the landowner being
436 responsible for the water-supply and the payment of land revenue.

427 In Ladakh, as well as in Tibet proper, where the country to a large
extent is sterile, the Malthusian law, by which " there is a tendency on the
161 part of the population to increase at a greater ratio than its power of producing
595 food," actually operates. There have been writers who with great
181 plausibility advanced the view that the practice of fraternal polyandry (plurality of husbands) was intended to combat this tendency. It is more likely, however, that the custom of polyandry derives its origin from a crude state of society and originally had no such economic significance. On the other hand, it is quite possible to conceive of a condition of affairs in this arid and sandy country likely to cause widespread famine or continual warfare. Actually neither occurs, for, together with polyandry, groups of families live in one or more houses attached to the paternal property. Moreover, Tibetans generally are not warlike, and the universal virtue of hospitality and the giving of alms to all and sundry acts as a kind of safety valve against famine and war.

241 Farming activities at the outset are mildly controlled by religious
787 sanctions, and the peasants consult the oracle dictated by the Buddhist
805 priesthood as regards the auspicious moment at which farming operations
may proceed. In practice, however, the auspicious time for ploughing and seeding coincides with the time at which the sun strikes certain prominent mountain peaks or cliffs at sunrise, meridian, or sunset. For
[114] instance, in a village in which I lived for ten years, a chart of the time of day was drawn up covering a whole year, based on the moment when the sun set over a particular snow-capped peak. The local astrologer—usually a lama or Buddhist priest—also compiles a calendar which serves as a guide to the farmers who can read.

241 In spite of the aridity of the country and the lack of moisture, the
134 harvests of Ladakh cannot be said to be insufficient to feed the people. The soil, however unpromising, has the peculiarity of yielding good crops year after year without its being allowed to lie fallow and without, in many cases, any attempt to cultivate an alternation of crops.

241 When a farmer contemplates opening up waste land he must first clear the ground of obstructions, such as rocks, stones, and rough grasses, and then contrive to level the surface. Everywhere you see fields constructed in the form of terraces along the sides of the hills, the stones and top layer of the earth being brought down from a higher to a lower level so as to form a wall or buttress. These parallel terraces of levelled-out land are supplied with water conducted in channels from a mountain torrent caused through the melting of glaciers or accumulations of snow. Another ingenious device for obtaining what will one day become arable land is that of building stone dikes across the sloping sides of mountains near their base. These are constructed by the peasants to assist the deposit of soil and gravel by the melting snows. They are left for years and sometimes generations for the operation of nature in preparation for the labour of man, so that in due course a sterile declivity becomes an accessible flight of terraces of cultivation.

The soil thus reclaimed from the stony and barren mountain sides has

121 reached northwestern India, or, rather, the
101 foothills of the Himalayas on the Indian
side, we heard that a certain amount of
polyandry existed among the hill people.
121 We went up to where they were reported
101 to exist and found that polyandry had died
131 out, but kept on looking further until we
finally ended up on the Tibetan plateau,
● 595 about 12,000 feet up, and found a very
103 active polyandrous society among both the
nomads of Rupchu (a plateau bordering
on Kashmir and Tibet) and the inhabitants of Ladak. [162]
The latter is a province
of what today is the state of Kashmir,
entirely inhabited by Tibetans and situated
in the upper Indus valley at the point
where the Indus leaves Tibet and enters
Indian territory. Later, we went towards
central Tibet and investigated polyandry
in Sikhim, which is a little state bordering
on Tibet and sandwiched between the
states of Nepal and Bhutan in the east.

121 The people living in western Tibet live
131 in an isolated position. The country is
595 very barren and, because of the altitude
114 and the difficulties of travel, the people are
very inaccessible. These, naturally, are
excellent conditions for such a peculiar
custom as polyandry to survive and I am
sure that, if Tibetan polyandry is so active
and well-preserved as it is there, it is due
to the physical environment which favors
isolation among these people. In the area
we visited, 90 per cent of the population
was polyandrous and I understand that
nearly all the inhabitants of the vast
[161] Tibetan country, of which there are something like three million, are polyandrous,
though, of course, it would take actual
first-hand investigation to be absolutely
sure that this is the case.

595 The polyandry practised among the Ti-
121 betans is of both the fraternal and the nonfraternal type, that is, when a young lady
marries a young man she either marries
all his brothers regardless of age (she can
even be the wife of children born after her
marriage), or she can take as many husbands as she desires, without their being
related as brothers, at her discretion. I

595 shall try to show why in some cases
121 polyandry is fraternal, and in others non-
fraternal.

162 The province of Ladak, which I visited,
197 is inhabited by Tibetans speaking an
793 ancient form of the language. Tibet, of
643 course, is run by the Lamaist church and
the head of the country is the Dalai Lama.
361 The former kings of Tibet have taken
341 refuge in Ladak since the 8th century A. D.
and live in the castle of Leh. The town
131 is very characteristic of Tibetan towns.
175 Flat-roofed houses are very well built on
the side of high mountains. The altitude
is 12,000 feet, the entire area is snowed in
[512] during the winter, and the people live
mostly in their houses and do not go out.

164 These Tibetan houses are not very dif-
ferent from our own western type of
123 houses, except in one respect. The kitchen
354 here has no chimney, so it can be imagined
how much smoke fills the room when they cook. The Tibetans do not seem to mind; though we personally found it very difficult to stand upright in their kitchens when they were cooking and so spent most of our time there on all fours, to avoid the smoke and keep our eyes from watering. The people suffer from eye trouble because of this practice and yet they seem to stick to it in a very curious manner.

291 The characteristic dress of the Ladak
301 women is of red cloth such as the men
wear. They have a sheepskin toga which
523 they throw over their shoulders and a very
428 characteristic head-dress, made of a piece
of red felt with two enormous ears of black wool. The red felt band is studded with turquoises at the back, family heirlooms, handed down from mother to daughter. Such a headdress is known as a *perak*.

291 The men are tough-looking. They very
often have their right shoulders bare;
857 though sometimes they have a Chinese
shirt thrown over them. When they are working, they usually have the right shoulder uncovered, however cold the weather may be. Looking at Tibetan children, one could imagine at first sight

857 that they have two heads, but the explanation
291 is that they generally carry a younger
[855] brother or sister on their back because the
[512] mother is at work in the house and cannot
look after them.

212 It is a fact that all Tibetans are literate,
857 men and women alike. Whatever class
779 they belong to, between the ages of 8 and
871 12 they have to go to the monastery to
learn the Buddhist religion, learning to read and write at the same time. This gives these people a very high standard of culture.

● 595 The first thing to grasp in Tibetan
428 polyandry is that the Tibetans are very
183 keen to keep the property together. The
592 country is poor, and they feel that if the
property is divided among several heirs there will not be enough to go around. They not only wish to keep the property intact but also to maintain the family name to this property. Thus, when a certain number of brothers, let us say, three, inherit the property and the house, they do not divide it among themselves but, marrying one woman as they do, they share not only the property but also the woman as a common wife, as well as the children which belong to all of them together. It is a kind of family communism, and certainly prevents division of the property.

595 Thus, the usual type of marriage is that
428 a number of brothers marry one woman
[601] and keep the property. This is called a
581 *bagma* marriage in Tibetan. However, if
592 there are only girls in the family, what
usually happens is that the younger girls go off and marry into other families, individually becoming the common wives of a number of brothers. They thus perform the regular *bagma* marriage. The eldest daughter, however, since she has no brothers, inherits both the name and property from her fathers and and is allowed to marry as many husbands as she wishes. These husbands and the children, too, take her name, so that, in this way, the children which issue from the marriage take on the mother's name and inherit the property undivided, and again make regular *bagma*

595 marriages. The woman's marriage, in this
[601] case, is known as a *magpa* marriage. It
428 differs from the *bagma* marriage in that
581 the woman is head of the family. The
592 husbands are married to her and she can
do exactly as she wants with them.

595 The most important point to grasp in
126 polyandry is that the house is the axis
around which the system functions. In
592 taking down genealogical notes I have,
therefore, always given the family the
name of the house.

595 A specialized case I came across was
583 that of an only son of the house called
Tsungarpa who married one woman,
428 the heiress to the Bata house (see FIGURE
1).[1] All her brothers were dead, so that

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[1] P. 213c FIGURE 1

595 583 428 she and her husband actually owned two houses and they had what, on the surface, looked like an ordinary monogamous marriage However, the two properties were not amalgamated. The woman was to carry on the name of Bata and the man that of the Tsungarpa house. Consequently, of the three boys which issued from this marriage, the first two inherited the Tsungarpa house, while the youngest inherited his mother's house and was entrusted with carrying on the name of that family.

[428] 842 587 562 357 One of the sons of these three brothers, Murup, inherited the Bata house from his uncle, but remained childless after twenty years of marriage. In such a case, oddly

23: Peter E-3 (1938-?) AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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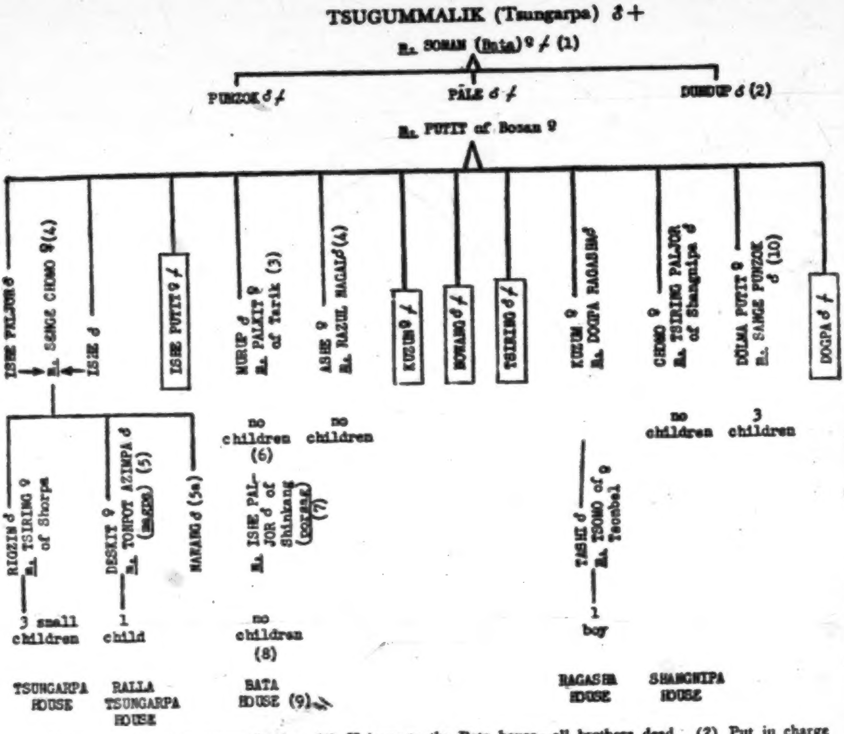

TSUGUMMALIK (Tsungarpa) ♂ †
m. SONAM (Bata) ♀ † (1)
PUNZOK ♂ †
PÄLE ♂ †
DUNDUP ♂ (2)
m. PUTIT of Bosan ♀
ISHE PALJOR ♂
m. SANGE CHOMO ♀ (4)
ISHE ♂
ISHE PUTIT ♀ †
MURUP ♂
m. PALKIT ♀ of Tarik (3)
ASHE ♀
m. RAZUL NAGAI ♂ (4)
KUZUN ♀ †
NONANG ♂ †
TSIRING ♂ †
KUZUM ♀
m. DOGPA RAGASHA ♂
CHOMO ♀
m. TSIRING PALJOR ♂ of Shangnipa
DÖLMA PUTIT ♀
m. SANGE PUNZOK ♂ (10)
DOGPA ♂ †
no children (6)
no children
no children
3 children
RIGZIN ♂
m. TSIRING ♀ of Shorpa
DESKIT ♀
m. TONPOT AZIMPA ♂ (magpa) (5)
NAWANG ♂ (5a)
m. ISHE PALJOR ♂ of Shinkang (magpa) (7)
TASHI ♂
m. TSOMO of Tsombel ♀
3 small children
1 child
no children (8)
1 boy
TSUNGARPA HOUSE
RALLA TSUNGARPA HOUSE
BATA HOUSE (9)
RAGASHA HOUSE
SHANGNIPA HOUSE

Figure 1. The Tsungarpa house. (1) Heiress to the Bata house—all brothers dead. (2) Put in charge of the lone Bata house. (3) Given the Bata house. (4) A Mohammedan—the woman takes the man's religion. (5) Land only held in tenancy. (5a) Becomes a Lama at Himis monastery. (6) After 20 years. (7) Murup is single-handed. (8) After 4 years. (9) Could adopt a child to carry on. (10) No land, as formerly Mohammedan; messenger at Himis monastery. † Deceased.

-- 213c (Figure 1) --

842 enough, the Tibetans seem to think that it
587 is the husband's fault and they usually
562 take in another man, in the hope that
357 there will be children. Such a man is
[1C4] known as a *porsag*, that is, a man brought
in for the purpose of fathering a child. However, when I asked this woman why she had remarried, if it was because she had no children, or because her husband was too old, she said, "No, those are only the official reasons." After I gained her confidence, she told me that she had married the second husband because she needed a servant in the house, and she found it cheaper to have another husband than to have a servant she would have to pay!

581 If a Tibetan woman marries a Moham-
177 medan, she has to leave the polyandrous practice and becomes a member of the usual Mohammedan family system. The woman always takes the husband's religion, so that a Moslem girl who marries into a Buddhist family becomes polyandrous.

595 Now it must not be imagined that polygyny (where a man has a number of wives) does not exist in Tibet. One occasionally finds a case as when a young man goes on a long voyage and meets a girl of his choice and his brothers agree to bring her into the house. Thus, in Rupchu, I have seen three brothers sharing two wives, so that anything seems to be possible among the Tibetans and, on the whole, the system seems to work very well.

584 The children in Tibet are betrothed
593 when they are 10 or 12 years old, usually
by the parents. But this is not always the
588 case. Very often the eldest boy chooses a wife himself, and his brothers and the other members of his family have to accept this woman as the common wife; they have no choice in the matter. But there is yet another custom in the Tibetan family which to us Westerners appears extraordinary indeed. As soon as the children are married, the parents are obliged to leave the house and the children take over. The father and mother must go to live in a smaller house, usually on

593 case of other polyandrous peoples like the
114 Todas and Tiyas, I found that they say
this is not practised any longer, but that it
121 used to be a custom two or three generations
201 back. I have never found a case of
its actually being practised today and, for
152 this reason, I have strong psychoanalytical suspicions that it has never been practised, but that this story has been put out by polyandrous people as an indication of, what I should call popularly, "wishful thinking." Each of the brothers would like, in some way, to have the common wife all to himself and would like to manifest this virility on his part by hanging up some emblem at the door. The sword, the stick, the shoes, the hat, and even the beads are all, psychoanalytically, symbols of virility, and it seems as if the men would *like* to have this custom which, possibly, has never existed, and each of them gains a certain satisfaction in thus imagining a virility which he feels he does not have.

181 The morality of the polyandrous people
is very high. I mean by this that, as poly-
•595 andry is an institutionalized social system,
they stick to it very strictly. If you ask
178 missionaries who have been among polyandrous people, they will, of course, tell you that polyandry is a very immoral practice. But if you speak to the people themselves, they, on the contrary, consider it highly immoral not to be polyandrous. If we take as the definition of morality, conformity to the social standards of the setting in which one lives, then one can say that polyandrous people, at least in this area which I studied, are very moral. The old people complain that today the young ones are getting highly immoral and lax in not carrying out the tradition of polyandry. Certainly, on the borders of India, where the people come in contact with the monogamous families of India, or with Europeans, polyandry is dying out to some extent.

595 I remember speaking to an old Tibetan
called Tocktock in Leh, who told me that,
178 in town, Indian and Turki traders (the
428 latter from Chinese Turkestan), and Euro-

595 pean travelers were introducing the bad
178 habit of monogamous marriage, and that
the young men were getting more and mo[illegible]
428 immoral. I suppose he was quite r[illegible]
and as I was interested to hear his point of view we had quite a conversation about it. He next asked me how, in Europe, we managed to remain wealthy without being polyandrous. He said to me, "Here in Tibet we haven't enough to go around and as we don't want to divide the property up we have to be polyandrous so that we inherit the property without its being divided. But how do you Europeans do it? How do you remain wealthy by being monogamous and dividing up your property?"

595 I must say I had not thought of this
178 before. It only occurred to me when I
was talking to this man. So I said, "Yes,
428 now that I think of it, it is probably true
that in Europe we do things in a different
829 way. When we marry, each man goes off
with his wife and they try to fend for themselves, build up their own family and get their own source of revenue. That is the way we do it. There is enough wealth to go around to found other families." "Yes," the old man said, "That is true. I have noticed among the Tibetans who have become Moslems that this is also the case. They cease being polyandrous, and because of that they then divide up the property. There is not enough to go around. The eldest brother usually gets it and the youngest brothers have to go off with their wives elsewhere to find some work. I have also noticed here that nearly all the Mohammedan families seem to go to Burma and work in the ruby mines there. That is obviously for the same reason you are telling me now about Europeans." Then he was silent for a moment and looked at me in a pensive fashion until suddenly he said, "Now I understand why you Europeans come here. That is why you have got colonies. If you were polyandrous you wouldn't need to!"

152 One question I am very often asked is,
428 does jealousy exist within the various

152 428 houses? I have the impression that it does exist but that it is very highly repressed by this institution of polyandry. Tibetans, when asked if they are jealous among themselves, will always answer that they cannot afford to be jealous because of the economic sanction against it. If they started quarreling among brothers, they would have to divide up the property. They would then be too poor to carry on, and this threat makes it impossible for them to show their jealousy.

152 595 As it is, there seem to be some outlets for it. I have noticed a number of what one might term "unjustified" *magpa* marriages, cases of young men who were married jointly with their brothers to one woman and yet each went off and married an heiress. Such a man could have remained married to the common wife, but was lucky enough to find an heiress he could marry and he certainly did so at once, because it gave him some justifiable motive for having a wife all to himself. There are very many such cases of *magpa* marriages which are not justifiable, in the case of the males, except for the desire to break away from a polyandrous family.

152 762 593 A certain amount of neurotic cases among brothers can also be noticed, which shows that jealousy certainly exists unconsciously in their psyche. I saw a young man in Keylong, in Lahaul, where we were staying for a month (or, rather, I heard about it because it had just happened when we arrived there), who had committed suicide because he felt that the common wife was not giving him enough chance of access to her. He was in love with her and his other brothers were obstacles, so he committed suicide. In Leh, I actually saw a young man who for many years, as long as his brothers were alive, had suffered from a paralysis of one of his legs. His brothers died off one after another until he was left alone with the common wife, and queerly enough, that very day he lost the lameness in his leg, so that it looked as if it had been a hysterical manifestation due to repressed aggression

152 762 593 within him, certainly caused by jealousy of his other brothers for their relations with the common wife.

837 ● 595 684 There are certain instances of extramarital relations between people in this polyandrous community, but they are highly condemned and heavy sanctions are applied. In a *bagma* marriage, if the woman commits adultery, she is turned out of the house if she is childless, and the brothers choose another wife. If she is with child, she is fined and has to pay out of her personal property. As for the man, the co-respondent, he is beaten and/or has to pay compensation to the legal husbands. In a *magpa* marriage, where the woman is heir to the property, has the care of it and can marry as many men as she desires, infidelity of the wife is the only case in which the husbands can get a divorce. Otherwise, she can divorce them, but not *vice versa.* If the man is the adulterer in such a marriage, nothing is done except in the family where he has committed the adultery. In the case of unmarried people, the woman is usually turned out of the house if she has premarital relations and should attempt to marry the man with whom she has had these relations. If the trespasser is a man, he is treated exactly like an adulterer in the usual *bagma* marriage.

848 597 793 548 276 [824] Illegitimate children are usually hushed up. They are often adopted into some family or are sent to the monasteries as novices, so that nobody knows exactly what their origins are. As far as I could find out, there seems to be no prostitution in Tibet, and husbands suffering from the polyandrous organization do not have that outlet. Something, however, certainly is known about prostitution, for Tibetans, who never smoke, tell you that they do not do so because tobacco was a plant grown with the menstrual flow of a prostitute.

838 As far as I could find out, homosexuality is condemned, even in the monasteries, and certainly despised if practised, and I could not find any proof
000 of it. But local Europeans who know the

wT But local Europeans who know the
838 Tibetans very well, such as the Moravian
missionaries who live among them in the
181 western part of Tibet, explain that, on the
● 595 whole, they are not very passionate people,
but rather cold. Certainly, their polyandrous institution has much to do with the
wT repression of their natural feelings.

779 Oddly enough, the Buddhist religion
595 condemns not only polygyny and divorce,
but also polyandry, and yet all Tibetans
174 who are Buddhists practise it. Thus, it must be a pre-Buddhist custom. The Moslems, however (that is, those Tibetans who are converted to Mohammedanism) cease being polyandrous immediately and take to the Islamic polygynous system.

Ti There exists a very rare case of poly-
595 andry in Tibet which it has not yet been
341 my privilege to come across, but of which
I heard repeatedly in western Tibet. It is
WT practised in a society which I understand
341 exists in central Tibet around Lhasa and
Gyantse. In these towns, the fathers and sons share one wife. One of the objects of my returning now, at the end of the year, to Tibet, is to meet a woman who is thus married to both father and sons. Such a
[104] woman is known in Tibetan as a *tchama-doong*, which means "beam-mother-beam" a name derived from an analogy in the build of their houses. These have flat roofs, built over a number of beams, large transversal beams and others, which are smaller, going across them, and very small bits of wood which link the two together. When they call such a woman a *tchama-doong*, they mean she is comparable to a small beam, that she links the big beam with the small bits.

Ti It must not be imagined for a minute, of
595 course, that this woman is the mother of
the sons. But let us assume the case of a
587 family in which there are a number of
brothers, who have married one woman and have a number of offspring. If this mother dies, the fathers can either remarry and, in this case, the sons are entitled to share the stepmother with their fathers, or, if the sons are married when the mother dies, the fathers, instead of remarrying, are

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second brother had also left, when he ran away in a huff, with one-third plus two of the buffalo, which he now merged again with the third brother's, so that two-thirds of the original buffalo (minus two which went with the first brother) again became the common property of these two brothers. They thus had one wife and later shared the two children born of the marriage, a girl, Marzin, born shortly after the polyandrous marriage, and a boy, Montoï, of whom the mother told me that she did not know which of the two was his father, and that she had no preference, because she was a good polyandrous wife to both.

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The Todas do not practice polygyny as the Tibetans do. They were shocked that I should even mention it. Brothers who have left the house (like the first one in the above example) are not allowed to return with some other wife and share her with their brothers. This is never practised and, even when a brother leaves, he is only given one chance to come back alone to the family fold. Should he do it a second time, he is turned out of the house and the brother

Ti 220b

516 or brothers living with the wife are exclusively entitled to her.

To 584 582 586 wTi 584
Instead of the Tibetan practice, in which the children are betrothed by the parents early, the Todas have a custom of marrying first cousins very early, as child marriages are common nearly all over southern India. In such a marriage, the betrothal would likely take place at least in the first or second year, and always between cousins, the boys marrying paternal girl cousins and the girls marrying maternal boy cousins. Later, these marriages are dissolved by divorce and the children are entitled to remarry by inclination, but compensation is always paid to the "legal" husband. This is worked out in a traditional manner, so that it is certainly a survival of some older form of marriage.

To 595 wTi [595]
Another difference with Tibetan polyandry, in the case of the Todas, is that one man is usually declared the father of the children, though this is not always so. In the aforementioned case of Mab, the woman said she had no preference as to who was the father of her children. The woman is regarded as part of the goods

To interesting. He said that, if they did not
836 do this, the maternal uncle of the girl
would die. This seemed very surprising,
784 so I asked why. He said, "I do not know.
It is like that. If she were allowed to
154 marry as a virgin, her maternal uncle
618 would die." When asked what would
123 happen if the girl actually did marry as a
virgin, he said, "Sometimes it happens, and there is just one chance again for the maternal uncle to save himself. That is, he should take the young girl and shave all her hair off. It is the only chance he has of saving his life."

To I thought, from a psychoanalytical point
121 of view, this was most interesting because
it seems to me as if there were a feeling
154 of guilt in the defloration of such a young
lady; that the Oedipus complex comes out here although it has been transferred to the maternal uncle. He is the one who is threatened by consummation of the act (as a father would be in a son-father sexual conflict), and he can only save himself by castrating the girl (displacement of the suitor?) by cutting off her hair. Those are hypothetical psychoanalytical interpretations, I know, but they seem to me strong indications that these people have probably much the same complexes that we have in the West.

To Relationships between the husbands and
595 the wife among the Todas are different
from those among the Tibetans. They are not promiscuous in any way, and in their marital relations the brothers go strictly in turn. They, too, will tell you that, in past times, their grandfathers (or ancestors still further removed) used to leave their stick at the door, or their shoes, or something, always to show they were there. This is not practiced "any more"; the brothers know by intuition that one of them is with the common wife, or he tells the others openly that he is going to do it.

To As far as morality is concerned, poly-
595 andry is not enforced in the same way as
wTi among the Tibetans. It is somewhat lax
and usually applied only to the woman.
595 The men perpetually seem to be stealing

TODA AW60
KERALA AW11

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Tiya Polyandry. The Tiyas, living in Malabar, exhibit one especially interesting phenomenon: they are a polyandrous people who are patrilocal (that is, the woman marries and goes to live with her husbands), but also matrilineal (that is, the property that they have—and they do not have much, because they are common laborers—is inherited from the mother's brothers). Unfortunately, I did not have much time to investigate these people because the war broke out when I had only been at work among them for three weeks. Thus, the only thing I could note was that they are polyandrous, patrilocal, and matrilineal at the same time. I should like to return and see how this works out.

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General Conclusions. I am afraid that some of these results may seem superficial. I was unable to stay as long as I should have liked among all these peoples. I did not know any of their languages well, and to really do good field work, one would have to live among them and not put questions to them as I did. However, I hope to return and to do a more thorough study.

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As far as the psychoanalytical results are concerned, I think that they are highly illuminating, though not sufficiently ample to be conclusive. There are strong indications that, broadly speaking, psychic mechanisms, libidinal development and mental structure may be identical to those in the West. There are, thus, numerous instances of trends pointing to Oedipus and castration complexes. What I, however, really investigated insufficiently was where we should place the relative borderline between what is specifically culturally determined in psychology (such as traits due to family environment) and what is generally humanly so (such as sociobiological traits).

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As far as the ethnological results are concerned, these can be examined from two different angles. Functionally, polyandry fulfils the same purpose as all other marriages: it is a social institution for the satisfaction of the individual sexual in-

TODA AW60
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KERALA AW11

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K 595 stinct and for the orderly social procreation
182 of offspring. Formally, it is more difficult
Ti to say why this institution has taken on this
595 curious appearance. As far as I know,
182 authors so far have been rather at a loss to
To furnish a satisfactory explanation. Many,
595 of course, have been given, with a great
182 amount of variety in their choice.

To For instance, we are given historical
174 explanations. In India they say people
595 have been polyandrous for many centuries;
that there are indications, such as archaeo-
182 logical (about the Heftalite Huns, 6th c.
162 A.D.) and literary (the Indian epic poem,
K the Mahabarata), that the people in this
174 area, both Aryan and non-Aryan, were
polyandrous in antiquity. Economic rea-
595 sons for this have been given; *i.e.*, that the
182 country is poor, that nomadism among
162 Todas or Tibetans, in earlier times, per-
haps led to a polyandrous society in order
Ti to limit the number of children. Then,
174 demographical explanations have been
595 given, that there is an excess of males
over females in this society, and that they
182 have to be polyandrous for that reason.
162 For instance, the Todas practise female
[To 849] infanticide and this is given as a reason
for their polyandry. Their men drink a
lot of milk, and some people say that the
fact that they have more proteins in their
diet in this fashion produces more male
offspring than female. I do not pretend
to know how far this biological explanation
is true. Sociological reasons have
also been given, namely, that the men
travel and have to leave one brother at
home with the wife (a reason which I
hinted at earlier). In east and south
India, the people known as the Nayars,
who once could also be called polyandrous,
had a very definite military organization
(somewhat like that of the Sikhs in the
north), and that has been given as a reason
why a people is polyandrous: one
brother can always remain at home with
the wife while the other is away serving
with the colors.

To It seems to me that these explanations
114 are not sufficient. As far as the historical

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To 114 — To 595 114 T, 595 114 K 114 595

reasons are concerned, the Mahabarata epic is the only case of its kind in the whole of India. The Todas, when you ask why they are polyandrous, always say "Because we are the same people as those of the Mahabarata", but I am convinced that they have got this explanation from the anthropologists and not the other way around! As far as the economic reasons are concerned, these also seem to me insufficient, because there are people living in the same area, in the same physical environment, who are not polyandrous. Even the Tibetans, when they become Moslems, though their environment does not change, suddenly cease being polyandrous and live in the Islamic fashion. The rich Tibetans in central Tibet are also polyandrous, and obviously not for economic reasons.

T, 162 792 To 847 162

As regards the demographic reasons, the following statistics will show that there is not always an excess of males over females. In the Leh *tehsil* in Ladak, where I was, there are 14,760 men to 14,650 women, which is approximately equal. The excess of single women among the Tibetans (there are some left over, naturally, considering the number of brothers who have one wife) usually go into a monastery and become nuns. That is the way they solve their problem. The Todas, on the other hand, practise female infanticide, so that there are less women than men. However, back in Tibet, in the same town of Leh, one finds that the Hindus who live there number 36 men and 13 women, and yet they are monogamous. In southern India, there is a Moslem community known as the Moplahs, in which there are five men to one woman, and they are polygynous rather than polyandrous. Even in Europe, the Bulgars have 35,000 more men than women and yet, though they may have many faults, they certainly are not polyandrous.

To 162

As far as the Todas are concerned, out of the 600-odd that exist, there are 340 men and 237 women, so that it really looks as if the reason given might be true in

AJ4
TODA AW60
KERALA AW11

224a

To this case. But as Rivers has very well
162 pointed out—"which comes first?" It is
the old problem of the egg and the hen. Do they kill off their little girls because they wish to remain polyandrous, or are they polyandrous because they have more men than women owing to the practice of female infanticide? If the latter, the fact that they can steal one another's women would be another solution to the problem, so that again the demographic reasons seem to be insufficient.

To Being unsatisfied with these explanations
121 of polyandry given by various
Ti authors, I decided to find out from the
121 people themselves why they are polyandrous.
K I do not think this has been done before. Most people find out about
121 polyandry and then they try to think up
some explanation for it, but no one has gone and asked the people themselves. Of course, when I checked the scientific explanations against their ideas, I got various answers.

To There was no other answer from the
595 Todas about the Mahabarata than that
829 which I have already discussed. As far
as the economic reasons are concerned,
Ti the Tibetans did say yes, they lived in
595 poor surroundings and that is why they
are polyandrous. Demographic reasons
829 (that there are more men than women)
were never mentioned, while sociological reasons such as frequent traveling (one brother having to remain at home with the wife) were mentioned often. But I was struck by the fact that, of the 100 answers I got, at least 95 were quite different from all the scientific explanatic

To The usual answer I got was, "We are
829 polyandrous so that our wives will not
quarrel." The Todas even said that they
595 are polyandrous because they do not want
121 the *brothers* to quarrel with one another.
Ti And I must say that I found this explanation
829 by the people themselves much more
convincing, from a psychological point of
595 view, than the academic explanations of
121 certain authors. Basing my own view on
the answers of the people themselves, I

To would give the following interpretation
829 of the polyandrous systems found: It
595 seems to me that polyandry is "not neces-
121 sarily a primitive institutional form of
182 marriage, but that it is due to the psycho-
logical reaction of individuals living in
Ti communities subject to environmentally
poor and insecure economic conditions,
829 persisting, in the case of the Tibetans,
595 through isolation from other communities,
121 or, in the case of the Todas, as a type of
182 defense mechanism against invasion by
other cultures." I have not included the
K Tiyas in this definition because I do not
[121] know them sufficiently and would like to
go more thoroughly into their polyandry
before giving an interpretation of it.

Ti Now, if I take this definition, instance
595 by instance, I shall be able to interpret
exactly what I mean by it. When I first
114 say that polyandry is "not necessarily a
212 primitive institutional form of marriage,"
I mean that, for instance, the Tibetans are all literate and educated people, with whom you can speak quite freely, who have a very pronounced sense of reality and do not in any way seem like a primitive people. It thus looks as if polyandry were a system entirely outside of the usual evolutionary stages of marriage, in which anthropology puts the matriarchal before the patriarchal system.

To Next, I say that polyandry is "due to
595 the psychological reaction of individuals
living in communities subject to environ-
114 mentally poor and economically insecure
[182] conditions," by which I mean, living in a
[593] physical environment which leads to a
miserable economy. This economy makes
Ti them very interdependent, within each
595 family, upon the help of each other, and
this interdependence, in turn, which is
114 stressed very highly in these families be-
[182] cause of the necessity of sticking together
[593] under the difficult physical conditions,
calls for less aggression among the members of the family itself and among groups of them. It seems to me that this stress on the condemnation of aggression is such that even something approaching incest

To appears as less dangerous than aggression
595 among brothers. In fact, the balance between
114 aggression and love for one another
is upset in favor of love, and this is so
Ti effective that latent, repressed incestuous
● 595 strivings are forced out by an excuse, I
114 should say, of loving one another and are
less condemned than aggression between
brothers.

To I am convinced that it is this feeling
595 that finds its expression in the Tibetans
and Todas saying, "We are polyandrous
114 because we do not want to quarrel among
593 ourselves." (The Tibetans say that they
do not want the women to quarrel, by
Ti which indirectly they mean that, if the
595 women are quarreling, the men will have
114 to take sides and would quarrel. The
Todas are more definite about it and say
593 outright that they are polyandrous because
they do not want the brothers to quarrel.)
These people actually feel that a practice
of aggression, of rivalry between brothers
is more dangerous than the custom of sharing
one woman, which has led to the
establishment of a community in which it
has become compulsory to live in this
fashion.

To It is very characteristic of polyandrous
595 people that they insist on being polyandrous
and say it is immoral to be anything
114 else. In fact, this latent eruption of a
Ti repressed incestuous desire becomes an
obligation, which is very much in line with
595 the teachings of psychoanalysis; namely,
114 that a repressed desire becomes the basis
of a compulsion, in this case of an imposed
institution, which it would be difficult to
explain sociologically. Of course, these
incestuous obligations, as you might call
them, do not go as far as a father-son

TO 595 114 Ti 595 114 relation, but it seems to me that the *tchamadoong* system is so close to such a relation that again it could easily be explained in this way.

In the final instance, as I say, polyandry "persists through isolation, in the case of the Tibetans, and as part of a defense mechanism in the case of the Todas." The Tibetans are very isolated and do not come in contact with other peoples and, for that reason, the system is well preserved, though in the border region it is breaking down. I was much struck by the fact that people there do not like mentioning polyandry. They are shy about it and think it does not sound very nice to other people, while as one gets into the interior among real polyandrous people they are very proud of it and boast of it. In the case of Tocktock, which I mentioned before, the old man was surprised that other peoples were not polyandrous. As far as the Todas are concerned, they are cooped up in the mountains. They are hemmed in by other peoples who have other customs, but they still feel that they are the people of the Nilghiris, and that they are a superior race. In order to assert this, they stick very "nationalistically" to their customs, and I think polyandry persists among them as one of the symbols of their superiority.

000 I hope that this explanation of polyandry may sound convincing in spite of its mainly psychoanalytical approach. I think that the results of this first expedition were satisfactory, and thoroughly justify the desire for a second expedition to find out more about it, for there are many gaps that still need to be filled in, in order to complete the picture.

T WT 101 about often without any ambition whatsoever to cross over from it into the world beyond.

T WT 101 121 595 The area where I investigated the custom of polyandry as practised by the Tibetans is thus wide-spread, so wide-spread in fact, that it can easily be said to constitute the largest of any in which this custom is followed. The Tibetans, or those of Tibetan culture (the two are synonymous in our context) consequently constitute the biggest human group on earth in which this form of matrimony is to be found. It did seem worth while, for this reason, to give it more attention than any other, particularly when the advanced state of its culture is taken into consideration.

WT 101 114 595 In the following divisions of Part I, I propose, first, to give an account of the polyandry which is to be found among the inhabitants of the western Himalayas, in those districts of India which, together with the Tibetan province of Ngari Korsum (*mNga-ris Kor-gSum*), are collectively known as Western Tibet. They include the valley of Lahul in India proper, the plateau of Rupchu and the province of Ladak in Kashmir. In Rupchu, I came across nomadic people from Ngari Korsum in Tibet, Chang-pa (*Byang-pa*), called thus after the Chang T'hang (*Byang-T'hang*) or "northern plain" in Tibet, who gave me a good account of the type of polyandry practised among themselves and among the officials beyond the border.

T 101 114 595 In the next divisions of Part II, I will give an account of the polyandry of the Tibetans of Tibet proper, such as I was able to study it in Kalimpong. This will cover mainly the two central Tibetan provinces of Ü (*dbUs*) and Tsang (*gTsang*) known collectively as Ü-Tsang (*dbUs-gTsang*) in which are to be found the capital, Lhasa (*lHa-sa*), and the two other largest cities in the country, Shigatse (*gShis-Ka-rtse*) and Gyantse (*rGyal-rTse*). I will, however, also give an account of the polyandry of the inhabitants of other parts of Tibet, as it is to be found in outlying provinces such as Kham, among the nomads of the Chang T'hang and in such regions as, for example, the Chumbi valley (Tromo (*Gro-mo*) in Tibetan).

T 114 595 In the last division of the same Part II, I shall deal with a very special case of polyandry which I believe was hardly known prior to the research work which I have done upon it, namely, that in which a wife is held in common by fathers and sons. Relatively frequent in the central provinces of Tibet, and more especially so in Tsang, this exceptional type of polyandrous marriage is looked upon with curiosity even by the Tibetans themselves in other parts of the country. It was my good for-

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

exchange local products for salt, borax and wool (including *pashmina*) 105
with Tibetan traders. This merchandise they export to Kulu, again on 221
the backs of their flocks, returning in the same way with grain for the 439
winter. During November, the sheep are once again driven down to the lower Himalayan foothills, where they remain until the spring for pasturage. Many Lahulis find work of a menial kind in the plains during the winter months, especially in forestry.

The only time of the year when crops can be grown in Lahul is from 105
May to November. The rest of the year, the snow lies thick on the 241
ground and no cultivation is possible. The population of the country lives off only 5% of the total area, the rest being waste land unfit for agriculture. The water supply, in spite of the scanty rainfall, is made ample from glaciers and snow drifts, and the soil itself is extraordinarily fertile. The result is that crops are grown with amazing regularity and there has never been a famine in this part of India as long as anyone can remember.

The main food crops are barley, buckwheat and wheat – very much the same as they are in Tibet proper. Peas, potatoes, and grass to make hay for the cattle are also grown, and apple and plum trees produce a
good harvest of fruit. Cash crops consist exclusively of *kut* or rusta [439]
(*Ru-s Ta*) (*Inula Helenium*), a leguminous plant the roots of which are used to make aromatic burning stocks or *joss-sticks*,[1] much in demand in Buddhist and other temples throughout countries of Chinese culture.

The men in Lahul plough and sow grain. The women weed the fields [462]
and collect the harvest. The men then thresh the crops or tread them by foot and with animals, winnowing the grain and storing the latter for the winter in their houses.

The domestic animals of Lahul are the *dzo* (a cross between a yak 105
and a cow), sheep, goats, ponies and donkeys. There were no motor- [231]
able roads at the time of my visit, but I understand that the Indian army [491]
is about to build a track passable for jeeps, which will enable them to reach Ladak from the south.

6. FIELD-WORK RESEARCH ON POLYANDRY IN LAHUL

If I have described the background of Lahul society at some length, it 595 ●
is because I believe this to have considerable bearing on the understand- 795
ing of polyandry and on the reasons for its existence among the people of Tibetan affinity in the Himalayas. It is to be noticed that only those

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[1] *Joss* = from the Portuguese *Dios*, God, hence "God-sticks".

595 795 who are predominantly Buddhist in Lahul follow the custom, the Hindu Brahmins of the Chandra-Bhaga valley finding it most repugnant to do so.

595 631 It was difficult to discover if the Thakurs were polyandrous or not. As Tibetans and Buddhists, they should follow this system of matrimony since it is part of their culture. They have, however, come very much under Hindu influence with the past conquests of Kulu, and I have related how, since that time, they like to consider themselves Rajputs. For this reason, they denied to me that they were polyandrous, but I found it hard to take them at their word. Probably, they carry on with this arrangement in private, when no inconvenient witnesses are about to hold it against them as high caste, Kshatriya Hindus.

595 No sooner had I arrived in Kyelang and met the Wazir, Thakur Partap Chand, than the latter, on being informed of what I was looking for, took me straight along to a polyandrous family that he knew in the town. It was on the 21st of June, 1938, and to me, this remained a memorable day, for here at last, after hearing so much about it, was polyandry as I was seeking it.

The household to which I was taken was one called Barun-pa, and it was situated in the upper (northern) part of Kyelang. We went there [342] at five o'clock in the afternoon and, after walking down narrow streets between mud walls, we entered through a doorway into a courtyard and climbed up by a narrow staircase onto a terrace on the first floor outside a large room, which appeared to be the living quarters of the family.

A young man was introduced as Sönam (*bSod-Nams*), twenty one years old, head of the house of Barun-pa since the death of his father. [291] He was dressed in a long, yellow silk gown and wore a small Lahuli cap on his head. This made him out to be a person of somewhat better means than most, and since his house was not situated on any *jaghir* land of any of the Thakurs, his was presumably a *khalsa khoti* holding.

[352] [574] He took us to some stools in a corner in front of a small wooden table and asked us to sit down and take some tea. While waiting, using the Thakur as interpreter, I learned that Sönam was married to a young girl aged seventeen, who was also the wife of his two brothers. The ages of the latter, I was surprised to hear, were eight and ten respectively. His mother was still alive, and lived in the same house with them all.

It was not the mother, however, who came along with the tea. The young wife did this, and my notes have a description of the finery that she wore and the jewels that she had on. Sönam said that he, and not his parents, had chosen her. She was from a neighbouring village, and had come to live with her husbands in Kyelang. I asked if I could photograph the family, and on receiving permission to do so, asked for the younger husbands to be included. They posed unabashed but the elder boy and his bride looked shy. The Thakur said that this was because husband and wife should not really be seen very much together in public. 595

Further questioning elucidated that property of the household was common to the family, the mother and her three sons having inherited the land and house from the deceased husband. By marrying one wife, the brothers avoided partition and jointly shared their estate, their wife, and the children they might have. Asked if the younger brothers could marry another woman if they wished, the Thakur assured me that they could; he said that they could also bring her home, if the others agreed to it, and have her living with them in the common house. In my notes I have written: "Thus polygyny and polyandry are united under one roof, the first marriage of the three brothers to one wife not being dissolved when a new wife is brought home." [428]

The following day, June 22nd, the Wazir took me to some other households in the town. The first one, called Mion Zukshi, was polygynous and polyandrous as theoretically described above. Four brothers lived with two wives, without dividing their belongings and apparently in complete harmony. I did not know enough at the time to investigate the relations of these people, but I did gather one wife had been the spouse of all four brothers first, until the third one had gone out and brought himself another girl back, with the consent of his brothers.

In the next household, called Ralwa Karpa, one man was married to three women. Unfortunately my notes do not give any details and I am mentioning it here only as a indication that polygyny does exist in the valley of Lahul as, in fact, it exists everywhere else in areas of Tibetan culture.

The third household was the main one from which the previous one had broken away (*Ralwa*, it seems, means "cleft" locally). It consisted of two men living together undivided property with a wife each. The particularity of this family was, however, that both brothers had been married first to one of the women, until the older man had brought in a new wife. The first woman then became exclusively the wife of the younger brother. I made a rough sort of genealogy (the first I ever did) which I give opposite (Table 26). [1] 595 601

From this genealogy I learned that polyandry earlier on had been much more pronounced. Tsering Tashi and Dön-drup had two elder

[1] [See category 116, p. 317--Analyst]

595 brothers called Tseten and Tashi Norbu, who had originally been mar-
601 ried together with them to a common wife. With her they had had one son, Chömpel, an albino, now about 18 years old. He still lived in the Karpa house, groping about like a blind man in the daylight, as I was to see on another occasion. With the death of their common wife, the two elder men went each their own way, and married into other families, as shown in the genealogy. The two younger men remained in sole possession of the Karpa house and were remarried polyandrously to a new wife. It was after Tsering Tashi had brought back a wife for himself from a trip to another part of Lahul that this formerly common wife became exclusively that of the younger man, Dön-drup, as described above. Was this state of affairs in this household a sign that polyandry was breaking up in Lahul? I wondered at the time, and questioned the Thakur on this point during the conversation.

595 When we entered the Karpa house, the wife of Dön-drup (who had
[594] formerly been both his and his elder brother's common wife) sprinkled tea with a branch of juniper on the floor ahead of us as a gesture of welcome. Thakur Partap Chand thanked her with folded hands and
[788] recited some *mantra* (religious formula) before stepping onto the wet places.

595 To my question as to how many were polyandrous in the valley of
162 Lahul, the Wazir replied that forty households out of a total of sixty,
[795] in Kyelang alone, practised polyandry. And this included Christian families too, he said, who, of course, were not polyandrous. In the capital at least, there was thus a proportion of three to one who lived in polyandry, and there appeared to be every reason to believe that this same figure held good for the whole area in which Lahulis of Tibetan cultural affinity were to be found. Consequently there seemed to be no grounds for believing that polyandry was breaking up.

595 Asked about signalling at the door when one of the husbands was
198 occupied with the common wife, the Thakur told me that this used to be done in "ancient days", when the man left his hat or his beads at the door to show that he was inside. It was not done any longer, he assured me.

595 I enquired what a *mag-pa* was, since that was a word that was used
428 to denote the status taken by the two elder brothers who, some time back, had married into other houses at the death of the first common wife whom they all shared. I received a rather confused explanation at the time which I did not very well undertsand, and it was only a few days later, when talking with the Reverend F. A. Peter, that it was

made clear to me exactly what was meant by this name (on the 25th 595
June, 1938). 428

Lahulis, the Moravian missionary told me, are very keen not to divide up their property and anxious, also, not to let their family name die out. [182] In order to attain these two objectives, they practise polyandry and both patrilineal and matrilineal inheritance, the latter type, however, only in the case of there being no male heir, so that a generation in which there are only girls may be bridged over.

He compared the Lahuli household to a pivot around which all the interests of the family revolved. Polyandry was practised because in this way a number of brothers living on a family property could keep it undivided by taking one wife in common and sharing her, the land and the children between themselves. Usually inheritance was patrilineal, boys inheriting jointly and without division from their fathers, and then marrying polyandrously as the latter had done, and so on and so on through the future generations.

Matrilineal succession was resorted to when there was no male heir or heirs. In that case, if there were more than one girl, the eldest became the heiress, while the others were married off into other families, usually polyandrously, to brothers. In the case of one female heir, she, like the eldest of many daughters, inherited the whole property from her parents, undivided, and then was free to take as many husbands as she wished with whom to procreate offspring for the household. If she had boys, they inherited as described above; if she in turn only had girls, the same procedure as that which had been followed in her own case was again made use of.

The first type of marriage, the Reverend Peter said, that in which the sons of a Lahuli family took one wife in common, was the most widespread and was called a *bag-ma* marriage (*Bag-ma*, meaning "bride" in Tibetan). It was patrilocal and patrilineal. The other type of marriage, the one in which a daughter inherited all the property alone and took as many husbands as she wished, was more exceptional. Its name was [601] a *mag-pa* marriage (from *Mag-pa*, "son in law" or "bridegroom" in Tibetan), an appellation by which the woman's husband or husbands were also known in that case (see genealogy of the Karpa family in which this term is used).

My informant told me that in Leh, Ladak, he had known a woman with three *mag-pas*, all unrelated, so that this is a form of non-fraternal polyandry. He said that the younger brothers of a *mag-pa* do not have access to his wife, as it is he who has married into her household and

595 he belongs to her, not she to him, as she would in the regular, fraternal
428 polyandry of the *bag-ma* marriage. The heiress's children take her name,
and her bridegroom is really nothing more than the man she has chosen
to enable her to have the children she needs to hand down the property
[586] she has inherited undivided. A *mag-pa* or *mag-pas* can be turned out
by their wife without her having any obligation to compensate them; in
such cases, the woman does, however, usually give the poor man a sheep
or a few rupees as a parting present. Even if there are children of the
union, the *mag-pa* or *mag-pas* can be dismissed, it being considered
that he or they have fulfilled their mission and are no longer of any
use. Offspring remain with the house, namely in this case, with the
mother.

428 In the rare cases where there are no direct heirs, male or female,
597 household property and family name go to the most closely related
member of some related branch, with a preference for the paternal side
if possible. But usually even this is avoided by the adoption of an heir,
such being the preoccupation of the Lahulis with keeping the property
undivided and with handing down the family name.

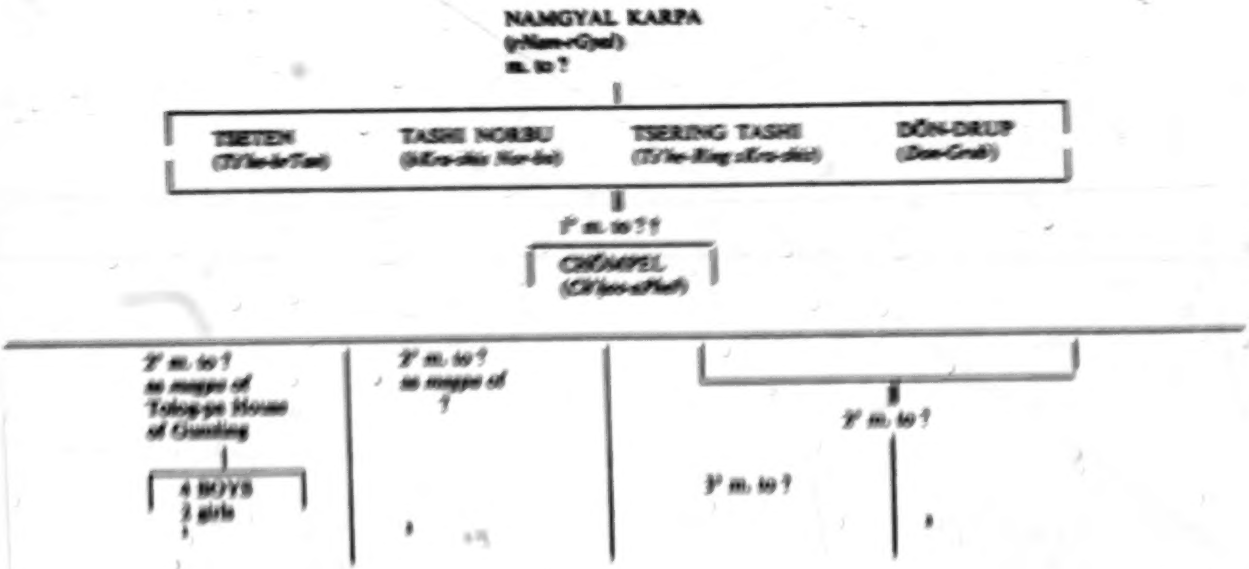
585 On the 1st July 1938, Wazir Thakur Partap Chand took me to Gum-
[595] ling village to see a *bag-ma* wedding in the Tolag-pa house. It will be
[601] seen in the genealogy of the Karpa house given in Table 26, that Tseten,
eldest of the four sons of Namgyal Karpa, after having been part of a
polyandrous marriage with his three brothers, left them when their com-
mon wife died to become a *mag-pa* in the Tolag-pa House of Gumling.
He had had four boys and two girls, and it was to the wedding of these
four sons of Tseten that my wife and I were now invited.

On arrival at the house, Tseten received us, flanked by a young wom-
[273] an beautifully dressed in coloured silks with a white scarf over her
shoulders and a magnificent turquoise crown on her head, who imme-
diately offered us *chang* (local barley beer) to drink, in spite of the early
hour (it was seven a.m.). All the way from Kyelang to Gumling, only
[564] half an hour's ride, we had been preceded by a member of the smith
[533] caste, a Gara, who drummed away loudly on a kettle-shaped instrument
to do us honour and announce our arrival. He now stopped beating it
and went into the house with us to join others like himself who, today,
on this festive occasion, constituted the band.

With the Wazir, we were taken up to a guest room where we were invited to sit cross-legged on the floor and plied with tea and more *chang*. Once we had been through this ritual of polite reception, we were taken up onto the roof of the house where a carpet had been put

[Text Continues on p. 318]

Table 26. HOUSE OF KARPA.


NAMGYAL KARPA
(gNam-rGyal)
m. to ?
TSETEN
(Tshe-brTan)
TASHI NORBU
(bKra-shis Nor-bu)
TSERING TASHI
(Tshe-Ring bKra-shis)
DÖN-DRUP
(Don-Grub)
1° m. to ? ?
CHÖMPEL
(Ch'ös-aPhel)
2° m. to ?
as magpa of
Tolag-pa House
of Gumling
4 BOYS
2 girls
a
2° m. to ?
as magpa of
?
b
2° m. to ?
3° m. to ?
c

a House of Tolag-pa of Gumling.
b House of the family into which Tashi Norbu was married as magpa.
c House of Karpa continued by Tsering Tashi and Dön-drup.

Males in Capital letters
Females in small lettering
m. = married
† = dead

575
601
160

585 a marriage to be auspicious, it was essential that as many of the guests
273 as possible became intoxicated.

Mutton, rice and curry were distributed to all, and while the dancing went on, many laid themselves down to sleep. The lamas came up onto the roof and recited prayers for all. More *chang* was distributed by the girl, and everyone drank six cups at least. Each time that this took place or somebody got up to dance, the Garas would beat their drums to encourage revelry. Occasionally, they even rattled off tunes, which I was told meant "drink more". The lamas who were also drinking quite a lot, became very religious in this atmosphere, and kept on springing to their feet to bless the guests, the food, the crops and even the sheep belonging to the house, and which could be seen in the fields below.

585 Only the women would not join in the dance and needed much persuasion. Prem Chand, the Thakur's cousin, joined me in trying to get them to perform, and when eventually the older ladies of the house of Karpa (among them Tseten's mother) started a few steps, they all came along and joined in the fun. It was getting late now, and the sun was setting. The bridegrooms wandered about freely in the crowd during all this time, as did even the two younger ones who had not taken part in the ceremony.

As we broke up and went home that evening, we heard that the bride was down stairs in the reception room with the other women of the house. In twelve days, she would be going back to her parents' house, where she
[591] would stay one month in accordance with Lahuli custom. She would only return to her new home after that time, bringing all her belongings with her and settling down for good in the house of her husbands.

We stayed another three weeks in Lahul, and during this time I had a number of opportunities to gather further data about the polyandrous
[115] people of the Bhaga valley. The Wazir, Thakur Partap Chand, accompanied me everywhere, and for this reason, as well as because he spoke English, he was my principal source of information.

Thus, Partap Chand told me that in *Khalsa kothi* holdings of poly-
423 androus families, property may belong to the house, that is, to the broth-
428 ers who own the land jointly and without division, but fields are never-
● 575 theless divided up among them, so that each of them receives his own private revenue. Bad patches are distributed first among the brothers of a household, and then the good pieces of land. Women can also re-
[584] ceive the revenue of fields put aside for them, and it is on this point that a bride's relatives have to be satisfied before they will agree to their daughter being "stolen" from them.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

Lahul

In his own family, the Thakur told me that the rule of primogeniture 595
was observed. He, as his father's eldest son, inherited the entire *garkpan*, 428
and his younger brothers – known as *nono (No-no)* – were maintained by him as long as they lived with him. He denied that they practised polyandry in his caste (and I accepted his statement with the reservations which I have made earlier on), and assured me that younger brothers only remained at home as long as they did not marry. They did not have access to his wife, he said, and when they had found the girl of their choice, they received a small allotment upon which they had to maintain themselves and their family. Very quickly their descendants became like other landholders of a *jagir khoti*, and had to render services, or pay rent instead, to the Thakur.

Despite his denial that polyandry was practised by the Thakurs, the 595
Wazir was very informative as to how it functioned with others. Each brother, he said, had his own room in the family house, as did the wife too. Occasionally, she lived with the eldest brother, in his room. In winter, when it was cold, in order to save fuel, they all lived in one, heated room, without any privacy. Asked if houses communicated with 342
each other, my informant said that they did not, but that in winter, when 594
the snow lay deep on the ground and the streets were impassable, everyone went from house to house by way of the roofs. There were trap doors above to let oneself in when the main entrance was blocked up in front by snow. Winter lasted eight months, he said.

Asked what the rules were in Lahul for sharing the common wife in 595
a family, Partap Chand said that there were none. All brothers, he assured me, have an equal right to the woman, and access to her is very much a question of tacit and tactful understanding between the men. The old signalling method of leaving hat or beads at the door was definitely not resorted to any longer, and a capable wife was quite able to to put the weight of her influence into the balance by distributing her favours equally and fairly. Frequently, one brother remained at home, alone with the wife, while the others went off in turn on trading expeditions. Jealousy did sometimes arise, as was inevitable, and in such cases [578]
separation was nearly always the outcome of the situation. The family then had to divide up the property, and became less well off in consequence. For this reason, interest effectively checked the appearance of jealousy, as it was a luxury which could not very well be afforded by the ordinary Lahuli.

Children, "like the fields" as he put it, are the joint property of the [851]
house. No distinction is made as to who is the physiological father,

595 [851] [844] although sometimes he is known. It was true, the Thakur said, that when a family had no issue, a man from outside was called in in an attempt to sire a child for them. Such a man was called a *p'horjag* (*P'ho-rlag*) as in other parts of the Himalayas and in Tibet where the custom was also followed. It was not particularly well looked upon in Lahul, and was only rarely resorted to. Monogamous families seemed to favour it more than polyandrous ones, he added.

595 855 [854] The care and upbringing of the children were also a joint concern, I was told. It could not be said that any one parent, be it one of the fathers or the mother, had a more important role to play in this respect than the others. But of course, when children were very young, the mother looked after them more than the fathers. Later on, it was perhaps the brother with the greatest personality who played a prominent part in the education of the children. On the whole, however, the men seemed afraid of their sons, believing that if they treated them badly, they themselves might suffer for it later on in life.

595 423 [626] Young people often revolted against polyandry, but experience showed that it was nevertheless still the best policy to follow. Fathers put pressure on their boys, when they rose in rebellion against the idea of sharing a wife, by threatening to withold handing down the family property to them. This was generally quite sufficient to make the young men change their minds.

595 [578] [182] In conclusion, summing up his views on polyandry, Thakur Partap Chand said that the system worked pretty smoothly on the whole. There was little quarrelling and not much jealousy. The reason for which this matrimonial custom was practised was an economic one: the soil was poor, the holdings small, and there was little possibility of acquiring other arable land. Each family had to hang on to what it owned; partition was strenuously avoided.

601 I obtained a few kinship terms from the informant, but not as many as I was able to gather, later, in other areas of Tibetan culture. Those I obtained in Lahul, however, are of interest from a comparative point of view, because they are more archaic linguistically than those now in use in Tibet proper and show a persistance of old forms in these remote western valleys. Grandfather (both father's and mother's father) is *me-me* (*Mes-mes*) in Lahul; grand uncles (paternal and maternal grandfather's brothers), *lamas* (*bLama*), and any old men are also called by this appellation. Grandmother (mother's and father's mother) is *api* (*Ap'hyi*), as are also maternal and paternal grand aunts, nuns, known as *chomos* (*Jo-mo*), and other old women.

Lahul

The Lahuli term for father is *apa* (*Ap'ha*), and a distinction is made 601
between eldest father, *apa chembo* (*Ap'ha ch'hen-po*), middle father, 595
apa chung-ngan (*Ap'ha ch'hung-ngu*) or *apa panna* (probably an Indian term), and the youngest, *agu* (*A-gu*), by which term (which strictly means paternal uncle), all other younger brothers of the eldest fathers are called.

The mother is known as *ama* (*A-ma*). Husband and wife are both called *zhidmat* (*Zhid-sMat*) or *troks* (*Drogs*). A wife calls her eldest husband *ajo* (*A-jo*) or more respectively *ga-ga* (*Ga-ga*), and the younger ones *no* (*No*) or honorifically *ga-ga chung-ngan* (*Ga-ga ch'hung-ngu*). The eldest husband calls his wife *ache* (*A-ch'he*), (which is another word for sister); the oher husbands call her *nomo* (*No-mo*), while all of them, speaking of her to each other, refer to her as *ane* (*A-ne*) (which also has the meaning of aunt), or *zhidmat*. People outside the family will speak of the wife also as *zhidmat* and of the husbands as *go-bu* (*mGo-Bu*), for the eldest, *panna* (Indian?) for the middle one, and *t'ha-chung-ngan* (*mT'ha-ch'hung-ngu*) for the youngest.

In a polygynous household, the eldest wife goes by the name of *chan-chen* (*Byan-ch'hen*), the second one by that of *Chan-chung-ngan* (*Byan-ch'hung-ngu*), and the youngest is called *yang-chung-ngan* (*Yang-ch'hung-ngu*). Eldest boys, before they are married, are known as *gaga* (*Ga-ga*), and youngest as *no-no* (*No-no*). I have already said that a [842]
man called in to a family to produce children when the husbands have failed to do so with their common wife is called a *p'horjag*. Sometimes, a second man is also asked to assist if the first one fails, in which case he is called a *po-chung-ngan* (*P'ho-ch'hung-ngu*). Sons go by the name of *bu-tsa* (*Bu-ts'ha*), while daughters are called *bu-mo* (*Bu-mo*).

The Lahulis of Tibetan cultural affinity belong also to various patri- 614
lineal clans, each one descendant from a common ancestor. These are called *rü* (*Rus*), meaning "bone", and those belonging to them are known as *rü-pa* (*Rus-pa*). The Thakur gave me a list of some of the main ones, the name they bore, he said, being that of the ancestor. They are the following:

1. Guram Shing-pa (*Gur-ram Shing-pa*) or Jo (*Jo*), meaning "Sugar cane one" or "Lord", the clan to which he himself belonged. They were descendants, he told me, of the preserved semen of a Tibetan ascetic which had been fertilized on a piece of sugar cane.
2. Lön-chen-pa (*bLon-ch'hen-pa*), "Minister one".
3. Miru-pa (*Mi-rus-pa*), "Human bone one" or "Villager from Miru" (in Ladak).

164 He told me that he treated the following diseases by Western methods:
297 venereal (by far the greatest incidence), skin trouble, round worm, epi-
[199] lepsy, hysteria (mostly in women, especially unmarried ones), paraplegia
and hemiplegia (due to syphilis), some cases of leprosy, eye inflammations due to various causes, ear infections, tuberculosis (which was on the increase due to winter promiscuity), but no cancer (at least observed). I discussed polyandry with him in conjunction with his re-
595 marks about the hysteria of unmarried women (who were numerous in
158 Lahul because of polyandry, he said) and the promiscuity of the winter
762 dwelling in one room, and he told me that he had had one case of suicide; it was a *no* (younger brother) he told me, who had put an end to his life because he was jealous of his brothers sharing the wife with him. He was thirty seven years old at the time, and there was no doubt that this jealousy was the actual reason for his fatal nervous affliction.

759 Since Thakur Mangal Chand was easily available in Kyelang, I next
[115] went to see him, on the 5th July 1938. An elderly man of over sixty,
he had for a long time been Lahul's Forest Officer, but in his old age had turned to medicine and had become quite proficient in it and well known under his Tibetan name of Tashi Dawa. He told me that Tibetan
[959] medicine was ayurvedic to some extent, since it was the result of a
translation of the Indian texts by Tibetan doctors acting on the orders of King Srong Tsän Gampo (*Srong-bTsan-sGam-po*) in the 7th century
158 A.D. Asked if there was much nervous disease in Lahul, he replied
759 that there was little. Light cases were treated by lama Sönam Tashi
whom I had interviewed earlier on, while serious ones came to him. There were relatively more women ill in this manner than men, and hysteria was quite prevalent among them. He could, however, quote some cases of men, too.

158 Thus there was the case of a lama in Kardang, married polyandrously
595 to a single, common wife with his two elder brothers. As long as they
were alive, he was very jealous of them, as he wanted the woman all
578 to himself. He developed a nervous paralysis of the leg which lasted as
long as his brothers lived. They died, however, one after the other, so that in the end he was left with the wife alone. From that day onwards, he was cured; his paralysis disappeared and he was able to walk again.

He knew also of another case of an elder brother in the upper part of the Bhaga valley who was hysterically nervous, as he put it, because he could not stand the idea of sharing his wife with his younger brothers. Apparently, everybody in Lahul was not capable of living in polyandry and adapting himself to this form of matrimony.

Tibetan Nomads

(then a relative of the Thakurs, for whom he was certainly acting), and 563
to him they deliver 70% of their produce, while being allowed to retain 631
about 30%. They also sell salt and borax to the local people at the 651
Patseo fair, as described earlier (p. 310), the wool and *pashmina* which [439]
they bring down, together with the butter, cheese, hides and yak hair
which are among the products which they must deliver to the owner of
their animals, the *goba*.

The *goba*, as far as I could make out, was not normally resident with 563
them, but lived the rest of the year in Lahul. He was a relative of the 631
Karpa family as well as of the Thakurs. He spoke of the tent dwellers
as "his nomads", and I realised that he was their master and the owner
of the animals, beyond any possibility of misunderstanding. The relations
of the nomads to him were those of servants, or even serfs, and [576]
they never approached him otherwise than with their tongues out (a
Tibetan sign of respect), bowing from the waist and sucking air in
through their mouths as they spoke. It did not appear that he had any
of the powers of governmental authority over them which one would
have presumed he might have in so isolated a spot, even if it were in
Kashmir territory. I was, however, able to gather that, as these nomads
moved freely over the border, they were politically subject to both the
Kashmir authorities and those of central Tibet. The latter were represented
in Ngari Korsum by the Garpön of Gartok, capital of the neighbouring
Tibetan province.

The dress of the people up here was no longer the same, and already 291
bore a much closer resemblance to that of the Ladakis whom I was 563
soon to encounter. The men wore a loose-fitting robe of Chinese cut,
with a sash round the waist made either of coloured or white wool, as
in Lahul; on their heads they wore the Ladaki hat, that is a velvet cap,
round and high in shape, with the sides turned up in front over the ears.
The headgear of the women was the *perak* or *beraq* (possibly spelt
Be-rag), a long piece of red felt studded with turquoises received in
heirloom, which is worn hanging from the forehead backwards down to
the waist and is framed at its pointed end over the eyes by two enormous
black woollen "ears" on either side of the head. The women's
gowns were similar to those of the men and were also made of wool,
but usually of a darker colour. Over their shoulders, they fastened a
goat's skin, with the fur on the outside. Both sexes wore heavy woollen
Tibetan boots, with red embroideries over the foot.

Although no actual example could be given to me at the time, I was 595
assured by our hosts that polyandry existed among the nomads exactly 563

8

Tibetan Nomads

595 563 as it did among all Tibetans, that is also among the sedentary population. Since many authors have denied the existence of polyandry among nomads in Tibet, while others have stated that it does exist, the pronouncement was of interest to me.

I asked whether the few animals which the nomads did own themselves were held in common in one family unit, as the land was in Lahul. Although I had expected an affirmative answer to this question, the one that I received was in the negative. Why then did nomads live in polyandry? I enquired what the incentive might be, since there did not appear to be an economic one. The reply given was that it was a Tibetan custom which everyone in Tibet had always practised. Against this, I argued that by dividing up the family into as many units as there were sons to marry, each with his wife and children, since property was already individual, it would be possible to increase the livestock and raise the standard of living among nomads. This, however, did not seem to impress my informants, the abbot and the *goba*, at all; they simply repeated that nomads were Tibetans like others and therefore followed the customs of their country.

I have thus come to the conclusion that the nomads of Tibet practise polyandry exactly as the sedentary population does, out of social conformity. Being Tibetans, they often combine other forms of marriage with polyandry as well and, while I was in Rupchu, I heard about a prominent case of polygyny which, it seemed, had attracted a certain amount of attention, even in this society.

A man named Sönam Murup (*bSod-Nams dNgos-Grub*), unfortunately absent at the time of my visit, was the *mag-pa* husband of a young woman whose two other sisters were married out in *bag-ma*. These, however, had divorced and returned home to their sister, and from that moment had become the junior wives of Sönam Murup. No marriage ceremony had been performed so that they were free to leave again and to remarry, but in the meantime, the children that they had had with the *mag-pa* were considered as those of the family of his first wife.

[114] It was at Korzok *gompa* that I was given details about the polyandry practised by the Lhasa officials in Ngari Korsum province, and particularly about the way in which the Gar-pön and his son lived together with a common wife. I shall not go into this here, however, but will hold it in reserve for the division dealing particularly with this subject, as part of the description of the polyandry that is practised in Tibet proper.

175 648 Ladaki king having to pay for it, however, as he was forced by his saviour to become a Moslem. Shortly afterwards, the Mongols returned from entrenched positions near the Pangkong Tso, and in 1647, imposed a treaty known by the name of the king's capital, Tingmogang. In accordance with this, the frontier was fixed where it is today in the east, and Ladak was obliged to send a caravan with presents to Lhasa every three years. This latter clause was observed as late as 1950, but has been discontinued since the recent occupation of Tibet by the Chinese Communists.

[631 595] After Delegs Namgyal had succeeded in extricating himself and his country, somewhat precariously, from the double threat of Mongol and Moghul entanglements, continuous quarrels of succession amongst his heirs further weakened the kingdom. The two kings, Tseten Namgyal (*Ts'he-brTan rNam-rGyal*) and Tsepal Namgyal (*Ts'he-dPal rNam-rGyal*), brothers who succeeded each other but who also lived in polyandry as long as the eldest of them was alive (the youngest was at the time a lama at Himis *gompa*), proved to be the last of the reigning line.

[631] In 1819, Rangit Singh, king of the Sikhs and "Lion of the Punjab", conquered Kashmir with the assistance of Gulab Singh, Dogra Maharaja of Jammu. After the death of the Sikh monarch in 1834, the allies became estranged and Gulab Singh decided to consolidate his hold on the vale of Kashmir by extending his realm to include Baltistan and Ladak. The British were consulted, and when they expressed no objection, Zorowar Singh, Jammu's ablest general, was sent east with an expeditionary force. A great leader and a remarkable strategist, he succeeded very quickly in annexing Western Tibet, but the former allies, the Sikhs, did not allow the Dogras to enjoy their conquest. They continually conducted underhand intrigues with the object of stirring up trouble among the conquered Baltis and Ladakis.

[631] Time and again, Zorowar Singh was obliged to lead punitive and repressive campaigns, and Jigme Namgyal (*aJigs-Med rNam-rGyal*), grandson of the last reigning king of Ladak, was kept in Leh as a vassal king of the Dogra masters. In 1841, in order to distract their wards from rebelling against them, the Dogras decided to march into Tibet and to add Guge and other territories to the east to their Tibetan possessions. Zorowar Singh was again entrusted with the campaign, and this courageous and hardy soldier crossed the border of the Chang T'hang in mid-winter. On December the 10th, he camped at an altitude of 15,000 feet, at Tirtapur, opposite the lines of a Tibetan army which Lhasa had sent to stop his progress. The battle, which began on that

in Kashmir was Commissioner for the Government of India jointly with the Wazir for this work. 105 631

Under the Wazir-i-Wazaret came the Tehsildar of Leh, responsible for the collection of revenue and assisted by a Naib Tehsildar. Below them, and charged with minor administrative jobs in the villages and along the main roads, were the zehildars, the lumbadars and the kardars. The latter minor officials were responsible for giving Central Asian travellers any assistance that they needed along the Trade Route. They had, however, to be natives of Tibetan extraction. [985]

The ancient Ladaki political organization was still in existence at the time of my visit, but was divested of all power, and only survived because of the prestige which it still enjoyed in the eyes of the people. Thus the king of Ladak (*La-Dwags rGyal-po*), although reduced to the rank of raja of Stog and receiving a small allowance from the Kashmir durbar, was even then looked up to as the country's legitimate ruler. 105 177 554 631

In his castle of Stog which I visited, I was surprised to see that the king was assisted not only by court officials who had kept the titles of days gone by, but also by a council of ministers calling themselves *Kalön* (*bKa-bLon*). These personages, although without any real power, still met in a legislative assembly of their own; their positions were hereditary and they received the (modest) revenue of the village that each of them lived in. I was told that other offices, such as those of governor of a province or *Lönpo* (*bLon-po*), revenue officer of the Crown or *Nangdzö* (*Nang-mDzod*), lumbadar or *Tungspun* (*Drung-spun?*) and assistant lumbadar or *Togache* (*T'hoga-ches?*), no longer existed although the descendants of those who had held them hereditarily were still looked upon with some consideration. At social occasions involving only Ladakis, these people were still given privileged positions. I met the Queen on this occasion, and found that, as I had been told, she was a sister of the Thakur of Gungrang in Lahul. She was not living in polyandry as her husband had no brothers, but it was expected that her two boys would eventually take one wife in common, as was the ancient custom. 105 595● 631

5. *Land-tenure and economy*

The collection of revenue in Ladak is naturally the responsibility of the Kashmir administration. The basis of assessment of the revenue is a rather arbitrary one, being simply the holding or the house, which is called *zhing-kham* (*Zhing-K'hams*) allotted by the State and which is farmed by a single family unit, the head of the latter being responsible 105 423 651

b) *Polyandry in Ladak*

1. *Generalities*

● 595 From the informants and interpreters whom I mention in Appendix 2, acknowledging their services, I heard that polyandry was practised quite intensely in and all around Leh. Asked what the proportion of poly- [795] androus families was to the rest of the Buddhist population (the only one, naturally, among which polyandry was to be found), my informants told me that out of one hundred families, ninety of them lived in this form of matrimony. I enquired about the remaining ten per cent; was it that they did not want polyandry, or that they were not able, for lack of brothers in a family for instance, to follow the prevalent custom? The answer was that both explanations were correct. In some cases, polyandry was not possible because of the composition of the family. But in others, polyandry was deliberately rejected, as something un- 177 desirable. There was a growing tendency to this effect, it seemed, in 595 Leh, especially among the better educated, the wealthier and those who 795 had travelled to the big cities in the plains of India.

The tendency to give up polyandry, was not well looked upon by the [626] rest of the community. It was considered all wrong, and parents would disinherit their sons and daughters who refused to live in accordance with the traditional rules of marriage. This was interpreted as showing that the polyandrous Ladaki Buddhists were very moral in their outlook and would not tolerate any laxity in their customs. Nono Tse-P'hün [115] (short for Tseten P'hüntzok), who was my principal interpreter and one of my best informants, although a Christian himself (later, in 1947, he became Tehsildar of Ladak), assured me that the Buddhists were the most moral of all the communities living in Leh, that is the most strict with those of their members who would not conform to the habitual standards of correct and accepted social behaviour.

595 The problem of what happens to surplus women in a polyandrous society immediately came to mind when I began my investigations. As the proportion of men to women among the polyandrous Buddhists was roughly equal (only thirteen more men than women), it was obvious that if ninety percent of the one thousand two hundred and eighty seven strong community actually practised polyandry, quite a number of unbetrothed women would have to be accounted for. The reply which I got to this question was that, although many men's sisters remained at [563] home as spinsters among the wealthy, in the bulk of the community, unmarried women found Moslem husbands to whom they were only

temporarily married after having converted themselves to the Islamic 595
religion, as their husbands desired. This I understood to be the origin [563]
of the Argons.

It will not always be possible when giving an account of the data [124]
collected in Leh concerning polyandry to quote, every time, as I have done before, the date and site because much time was spent travelling about with the informants, conversing with them and gathering pieces of information in an informal, non-systematic fashion. This appeared to be the best way in Ladak to gain their confidence and to obtain as much as possible from them. Then also, writings concerning polyandry [127]
in this part of the world were available in Leh, either in the Residence [115]
of the British Assistant Resident where I stayed, or from the Moravian Mission and from my two principal Christian informants, Joseph Gergan and Nono Tseten P'hüntzok. The names of these works are listed in the accompanying Bibliography.

Since I already knew something about Tibetan polyandry from my [124]
observations in Lahul, as described above, I was able, in Leh, to go straight into the subject and to proceed along comparative lines rather than merely to explore unfamiliar fields in which I endeavoured to make discoveries. Thus I was able to find out immediately that the 595
Ladaki type of polyandry was, in essentials, the same as that of Lahul, 428
namely that the holding or house was the pivot, the axis around which 184
it revolved.

The inhabitants of Ladak, having this in common with all people of Tibetan cultural affinity, are also loth to divide up the family property and to see its name die out. Consequently they resort to the same matrimonial and inheritance safeguards as we had seen at work in Lahul: polyandry and either patrilineal or matrilineal succesion, depending upon whether there are male or only female heirs.

I very quickly discovered from my informants that the two big differences from what I had seen before were that, in Ladak, a rule of primogeniture existed by which only the eldest inherited all the property, and that fields were not divided up among brothers, but all belonged to the eldest one alone. I noted that it brought the system of [651]
tax collection much more into line with actual ownership for, as I have said, the head of the family unit is responsible, under the Kashmir administration, for the revenue to be gathered from the holding. In other words, the proprietor himself is answerable, and not a number of persons, usually brothers, as they are in Lahul.

If there are boys in a family, it is the eldest son who inherits the 050

If there are boys in a family, it is the eldest son who inherits the 595 whole holding and the family name, and is the lawful occupier-tenant 428 of either State or tenant *zhing-kham*. He has full rights of enjoyment [423] and disposal which he shares with no one. If there are no boys to inherit the house and family name, then the eldest daughter will take over, provided that she has not married out of the house beforehand. [586] Cases are known, however, in which a daughter married out has been divorced and brought back to the family holding in order to take it over and carry it on intact to another generation.

595 Marriage in Ladak, as in Lahul, is either *bag-ma* (patrilocal and patri- [184] lineal or *mag-pa* (matrilocal and matrilineal). These names are sometimes replaced by the terms *na-ma* (*mNa-ma*) meaning "daughter-in-law", and *bag-po* (*bag-po*) for "bridegroom".

Bag-ma marriage is a fraternally polyandrous one in most cases, all the brothers of the bridegroom becoming automatically husbands of the bride. It is the custom, usually, only to have the elder son and the next eldest one at the ceremony, but it is understood that whatever other boys there are in a family are also married to the wife of the eldest.

Mag-pa marriage can also be polyandrous, if the heiress so desires. But in this case, it is non-fraternal, the woman usually choosing husbands who are unrelated and the secondary ones being generally younger than their predecessors. A man can be *mag-pa* to an heiress and to her sisters, but unless he is formally married to them all, he only has a right of access to the younger ones; they are free at any time to leave the household and to contract *bag-ma* marriages outside.

[184] The institution of the *porjag* exists also in Ladak; such a man is called in if the bride remains childless. It appears, however, that a second 842 such extra man is never brought into a family, it being considered unbefitting to do so, whereas in Lahul there are no such scruples. The custom of taking a wife extra to the one already existing, is also practised in Ladak, the new woman being called *chan-chung* (*Byan-ch'hung*) in such a case. Actually, there is no limit to the amount of wives a man, or men, living in polyandry, may take in. It is, however, not [177] considered proper to have more than four wives at a time – possibly the result of Moslem influence in the country. The formalities of mar- [585] riage are only observed on the occasion of the first marriage (called *chan-ch'hen* (*Byan-ch'hen*)), while on the occasion of *chan-ch'hung* mentioned above, or of *yang-chung* (*Yang-ch'hung*), taking a third or fourth wife, only *chang* is given to relatives, and that part of the marriage ceremony in which head cloths are put on is performed. The second, third and fourth wives are generally selected from relatives of

Ladak

the first one and with mutual consent. The first wife will always have 595 ● the right to preside over the household, as she is the senior.

If a family has no heirs, it is possible for it to adopt one. This right 597 is practised by persons of both sexes, whether they are married or not. The institution is called *Bu-skal* (*Bu-sKal*) or *Bu-dod* (*Bu-dod*), which words have the significance of "child-instead". The general rule is that the person to be adopted is taken from among the kinsmen of the husband and is married with a girl chosen out of the relatives of the wife. On the other hand, if a girl is adopted from among the relations of the husband, a *mag-pa* must be brought in to her from the agnates of the wife. If the adopted child is taken from a family having no blood relation with the adopting person, *chang* and presentation scarves called *Kha-tag* (*K'ha-bTags*) are offered to the parents and relatives of the person to be adopted. In certain cases, this offer is repeated more than once and *Khatags* are placed on the neck of the person to be adopted and those of his parents again and again until they give way. If the adoption is made from among the kindred, the ceremony of giving *chang* and offering food in a family repast is considered sufficient. The [428] adoption is in most cases recorded in writing in the form of a deed; the person adopting binds himself or herself to recognize the adopted child as his or her only legal heir. Should a child be born to the adopting person after this, the offspring will not be able to take the place of the adopted person, the deed of adoption being irrevocable.

2. *Betrothal and wedding ceremonies*

Betrothal takes place at a very early age in Ladak – usually before ten 584 with regard to the girl, between that age and twelve with regard to the boys. First, horoscopes of the potential candidates are taken, and the [787] parents (or guardians) of the bridegroom or bridegrooms call at the house of the bride to present *chang* and *khatags* to her parents. This ceremony bears the name of *Tri chang* (*Tri-ch'hang*) and in it the petitioning party makes the offer six or seven times to express insistence.

When this part of the proceedings is finished, the parents of the girl accept the request, but demand for themselves and for their daughter more *chang*, tea, butter, *khatags* and food. All relatives of both sides take part in this ritual which is known as *Hol-chang* (*Hol-ch'hang?*) or *Tri-chang chen-mo* (*Tri-ch'hang ch'hen-mo*), "the great ask *chang*".

This is followed by the important *Nyen-chang* (*gNyen-ch'hang*) or [583] "relatives' *chang*". The bride-to-be's relatives receive more *chang*, [421] loaves, meat, tea, butter and *khatags*, as well as the bridegroom's con-

585 could have married, and the parties are declared wed. This is the binding ritual which makes them husbands and wife. Unless it has been [589] performed, the wife is not allowed into any private house or monastery in Ladak, just as unmarried girls are not permitted to worship at shrines, except at those of families in the houses.

A feast lasting three days is the next item on the programme. On the first day, the local villagers are fed, on the second the relatives and friends, and on the third the helpers and members of the bridegroom's *p'ha-spun*. Dancing round the *Drangyas* and the *Sha-kog* still standing in the yard, takes place on each of these days, and on the last one, it is broken up and distributed to the family and relatives, who accept the pieces as holy and of good omen. The Sha-kog, particularly, is taken to the bride's home, where it is sliced into pieces and given to her family to eat, the last morsel being given to her. Then the witnesses are paid off, each of them, in 1938, getting one rupee, and their helpers half that amount, while the lamas, who took part in the ceremony, receive a square piece of cloth each and some cash.

In the case of a *mag-pa* marriage, the same order of procedure is followed, except that the roles are reversed, so to speak, the man taking the part of the woman, and the woman that of the bridegroom. It is the *mag-pa* who is conducted in ceremony to the bride's house, and not [675] the other way round. When signing the contract of marriage, it is the girl's parents who endorse the pledge that her future husband will enjoy the property which is hers with him.

591 595 425 428 886

3. *Division of property between parents and children*

When the eldest child of a Buddhist family in Ladak marries, the time has come for his or her parents to leave their home, to give up the house and the property belonging to it to their son of daughter, who has the right to enter immediately into possession of the greater part of his or her inheritance.

[585] [888] A small portion, sufficient for the support of the several fathers, the mother and unmarried younger sisters that there may be, is made over to them while the remaining, larger portion, is at once acquired by the eldest son or daughter as his or her exclusive property.

This custom, which forces parents of grown-up, married children to retire from active life and from the responsibilities of their household when they are still not much beyond middle age, is called *K'hang chen K'hang gu cho ches* (*K'hang ch'hen K'hang bu Pyo Ches*), or translated literally, "Big house, small house to make".

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The parents and the unmarried sisters go to live in the *k'hang-gu* or 591
small house (which may be either a small part of the large house, or a 595
separate one on the family land, or even lodgings in some one else's 585
house if a *k'hang-gu* cannot be afforded by the family), while the eldest 425
son or daughter takes over the major portion of the household which 428
is called the *K'hang-chen*. 888

The reason for doing things in this way is, I was told by Joseph
Gergan on the 6th October 1938, that bride and mother-in-law unless [606]
separated, are sure to quarrel. A Tibetan proverb says: [539]

P'ha gNyen-bo sGo rGyap-la
Ma gNyen-bo Gog sBugs-la

which means:

"The father's relations are behind the door
The mother's relations are right inside the hearth."

Or, in other words, that the relations of the husband(s) should be turned out, while the wife's relations can always be sure of a warm welcome in in the home – that is in a *bag-ma* household; in a *mag-pa* one this naturally does not apply.

Reasons for the existence of this special custom, valid for both *bag-* 595
ma and *mag-pa* marriage, have been given as the fact that the parents 886
are getting old (after fifty, Ladakis, like Tibetans, age very quickly), 425
and that, for this reason, they can no longer assume responsibility for 428
the cultivation of the land, nor continue to bear the burden of the re- [145]
curring festivals, etc. So they go into the *k'hang-gu* where they have no obligations any more, and leave their newly wedded children to shoulder the charges which go with possession of the *k'hang-chen*.

The *k'hang-gu* consists of a smaller house, standing generally on the 595
land of the *k'hang-chen*, and of the fields called *To-zhing* (*lTo-zhing*), 888
"food-field", necessary for the maintenance of the persons who live in 425
it. No charges or dues are collected from the *k'hang-gu* by the Kashmir 428
State, and those who live in it do so absolutely freely. The portion of [651]
the father or fathers is called *p'ha-skal* (*P'ha-skal*), and that of the mother *ma-skal* (*Ma-skal*), for such division between parents is observed. Unmarried sisters live on the *p'ha-skal*.

The fields of the *k'hang-gu* can be cultivated by the inhabitants of the *k'hang-chen*; this saves trouble for the old folk. But if no such labour is forthcoming, then the *ma-skal* will be cultivated by the relatives of the mother, while the fathers and the unmarried sisters will look after the *p'ha'skal*.

Apart from land to be tilled, there are some animals in the *k'hang-gu*

595 such as cattle, sheep and goats in small quantities. Its dwellers also
425 have household utensils and movable property such as furniture. These
428 things, the size of the house, and the amount of fields and animals, vary
888 from household to household, but are fixed quantities within each one
individually; they do not change but remain the same for every succeeding
generation.

595 The elder son or daughter who has acquired ownership of the *k'hang-chen*
425 takes over full proprietorship, which includes not only the rights
428 that go with it, but also the obligations. Thus, an elder son has to look
after his younger brothers, maintain them whatever their behaviour, be
[851] it good or bad (he may never disinherit them), share his wife with them
and look upon the children born to him as just as much theirs as his
own. Younger brothers are at liberty to leave and contract marriages
elsewhere if they so wish; in actual fact, they often do become *mag-pas*
of heiresses, in which case they forfeit their rights to property in the
[992] *k'hang-chen* of their elder brother. Sometimes, they become lamas and
join some monastery, in which case they are entitled to retain their
share or give it up, as they please.

595 The owner of the *k'hang-chen* must see to it that the monthly *lha-bsang*
796 (*lHa-bSang* (*aBras*)) or "god meal (of rice)" ceremony is performed.
This takes place on the 10th of each month – and sometimes
on the 8th too. Occasionally, a neighbour will help by holding the rite
in his house for both households, and vice-versa. The New Year Tibetan
festival must also be observed, as well as those agricultural feasts which
occur at sowing time in February and March (*sa-kag*, *ma-zhing*) and at
the harvest in October (*sGrub-lha*).

595 An obligation exists also to white-wash *chötens* and *mani*-walls regularly,
651 and for some, to do the same to the walls of the castle at Leh.
Death rites must be carried out, tax paid to the Kashmir government
(which holds only the owner of the *k'hang-chen* responsible for this) as
well as various dues and *ulag* or *begar* (forced, unpaid labour) acquitted
595 to those to whom it is owed (government, monasteries). Divorced sisters
who return home must be looked after (they have the right to live
586 in the *k'hang-chen* and do not go to the *k'hang-gu*), and younger sons
who go to Lhasa for studies and employment must have their expenses
paid by the head of the family.

595 My informant, Nono Tse P'hün, told me that he had seen households
591 in which not only the parents lived in a *k'hang-gu*, but also grandparents
888 and even great-grandparents. In Likir, there was in 1953 a great-grandfather
who had outlived everyone in the various *k'hang-gus* on

the property, and, because he had remained all alone, had requested to be allowed to return to the *k'hang-chen*. He was given permission to do so by his great-grandson. 591 595 888

Parents are not really bound by custom to move into the *k'hang-gu* as described above. They can go on living in the *k'hang-chen* if they so decide, and their children (and the wife) agree to it. A family in which parents and married offspring thus live together is called *k'hang-shi zang-po* (*K'hang-gShis bZang-po*). I understand that an increasing amount of households are giving up the old custom of *k'hang-chen k'hang-gu cho ches*, because, as my informants told me, "nobody wants it any more". [1] [178]

At the death of the occupiers of the *k'hang-gu*, it reverts to the *k'hang-chen*; should the mother die first, the *ma-skal* will revert immediately, while the *p'ha-skal* will only become part of the main portion of the family property when it is not occupied any longer by either fathers or unmarried sisters. The *k'hang-gu* of a grandparent or of a great-grandparent reverts to the *k'hang-chen* at the demise of its occupier, and not to the *k'hang-gu* in which the parents and sisters are living, as might be expected. Unmarried sisters can leave to be wed in *bag-ma*, in which case their occupation ceases and the *k'hang-gu* is re-absorbed by the *k'hang-chen*. 428 595

4. *Divorce and marital irregularities*

Divorce in Ladak is called *Chad-dral* (*bChad-aBral*) or "cut separate". 586 There is rarely a ceremony connected with it, and formalities are reduced to the minimum. Usually, repudiation of one of the parties by the other takes place orally, simply in the presence of witnesses. It is possible, however, to have a written deed made out, which contains the declaration of divorce, the evidence gathered to justify it, and a record of how the dowry of the woman was paid back to the family. The ceremony which sometimes takes place is called *Lso-pang* (*lSo-sPang*) or "dung reject", and occurs when a husband or husbands wish to divorce their *bag-ma* wife. After the latter has been repudiated in either of the ways described above, the men's *p'ha-spuns* are feasted with *chang*. Salt, onions, grain and the remains of the fermented grain with which the *chang* was made, are thrown into the fire and the ashes cast away. Sometimes, instead of these things being burnt, sheep and goat droppings will be collected and symbolically cast away.

If a woman wishes to divorce her husband – an heiress her *mag-pa*, [168] or a widow her deceased husband's younger brothers, with whom she

[1] [See discussion in category 116, pp. 352-355--Ah.]

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586 refuses to live any longer – she will sometimes tie a thread between one
[768] of her fingers and one of those of the (dead) man, and cut it across to
show that she is free.

Divorce in Ladak is irrevocable, but can be conditional. It is thus
[837] sometimes stipulated in cases of proven infidelity that the partner at
fault will not be authorized to remarry the paramour, and that if this
does take place, the marriage will be void and the divorce non-existent.

A *bag-ma* wife can be divorced by her husband(s) on the grounds of mutual incompatability of temperament, of her own infidelity (in which case she loses all rights of compensation), of her carelessness and ignorance of her household duties, of what her parents-in-law consider to be her serious defects.

A *bag-ma* wife will be allowed to divorce her husband on the other hand, if impotence is proved in his case, if he is obviously unfaithful and adulterous, if he ill-treats her, or if she is wilfully neglected.

In a *mag-pa* marriage, the wife can repudiate her husband and di-
vorce him without any reason whatever; all she has to do is to turn
him out of the house. Consequently, to be a *mag-pa* is not an enviable
[595] position really, in Ladak. Many younger brothers seem, however, to
prefer it to being the junior partners of a polyandrous marriage, and it
is to be presumed that much depends on the merits of each individual
case. Immorality in a *mag-pa* is very rarely evoked by the wife, my
informants told me, as his conduct in that respect is of no great impor-
586 tance. If he should change his religion, however, and become a Mos-
797 lem or a Christian, that is another matter, and the wife will immediately
be entitled to get rid of him on these grounds. In the previous case of
a *bag-ma* marriage, such a reason could not be held against the wife,
simply because she would never be authorized by her husbands to
change her religion. She would have to be divorced first in order to
do so.

586 A *mag-pa* husband can be released from his marriage to an heiress if notorious misconduct on her part is proved. I was told that a woman in this position who would be divorced in this way would find it very difficult to remarry, as "nobody would want an immoral woman as a wife, whatever the property she may have".

If a husband wants to divorce his *bag-ma* wife or a wife is inclined to turn out her *mag-pa* husband, both of these are liable, in accordance with Kashmir customary law, to give a sum of money, the equivalent of a cow, to the divorced person; the name of such a monetary amount is *Mo-skyur-ba* (*Mo-bSkyur-ba*) meaning "woman thrown out cow". If,

837 beaten and obliged to pay compensation to the outraged husbands.
684 Sometimes, I heard, the lover, assisted by friends, resisted and a fight
ensued, in which the husbands' party might also be reinforced by friends
and relatives. In the end a third party would be brought in to arbitrate
and fix the amount of compensation due, if adultery was satisfactorily
proved.

837 In the case of a *mag-pa* wife, or a *mag-pa* husband, I have already
mentioned above, in what I wrote on divorce proceedings, what the
correct behaviour is in cases of the partners' infidelity.

As a rule, immorality is something that attempts are made to conceal,
and scandals do not occur often because everyone always tries to hush
them up. One of the chief difficulties that has to be faced, if such a
case becomes known and has to be dealt with in the glare of public
knowledge, is the problem of property. A guilty couple will have none
[735] to live on and, unless they can collect sufficient means to buy themselves
at least a land tenancy, they will become beggars and be forced
to live on grudging public charity.

848 The fate of illegitimate children is also a sad one. In most cases,
851 hushing up the affair consists in considering a child born of an adulterous
union as one of the family. Abortions are nevertheless often
847 resorted to, and in the case of unmarried girls frequently practised. In
Leh, Moslem barbers are those who perform these operations. Unwanted
children begotten in this way are often done away with, too, by
the mother simply giving birth to the child near the river, and throwing
[792] it into the water to drown. This is often the case with nuns in monasteries,
who should be chaste in accordance with their vows. Most illegitimate
848 children who live to be adult, become lamas or nuns. The
792 principal reason for this is again that they have no property and cannot
736 marry. In this way, they can live off the resources of the monastery.

5. *Dissolution of marriage by death*

595 If the eldest husband of a woman dies, the widow is automatically the
736 official wife of the surviving eldest brother of the deceased, by inheritance.
768 No marriage ceremony need be performed. If the woman does
not like to live with this man and his younger brothers as she did during
the lifetime of the eldest, but at the same time, does not like to
leave the family household or to take yet another husband different
from those she has had so far, or, again, if the surviving eldest brother
does not wish to keep her as his wife, she is entitled in all these cases,
to maintenance by the family. This takes the form of a piece of land

called *Shrub-zhing* (*sGrub-zhing*?), that is a small field put aside to supply her with some modest means of subsistance. 595 568 [936]

The widow of a deceased eldest brother is otherwise at liberty to leave the house and family. But her choice must be made at once, at the death of her eldest husband; should she not avail herself of this opportunity, she remains the legal wife of the surviving brothers and she will lose her claim to separation, unless she formally divorces them later.

If a family of brothers, married in *bag-ma*, dies without issue, their unmarried eldest sister is entitled to the inheritance, if she continues to live on the family property. If she is married in *bag-ma* elsewhere, she can occasionally divorce in order to inherit the property. Otherwise, the next-of-kin who become the heirs are the father, the mother, the widow of the deceased (if she continues to reside in the family house), the eldest of agnates, the *p'ha-spun*, in that order of precedence. 428 [586]

Unless a widow inherits the property, she is only entitled to maintenance during her lifetime. She will receive *To-zhing* if she is an only or the eldest wife; if she is a second or other subsequent wife, she will only receive *Shrub-zhing*. If, on the other hand, a widow inherits the property, she is entitled like an eldest daughter, to take a *mag-pa*; she must, however, hand on the ancestral property complete at her death, to the heirs which she may have with her new husband, or to the next-of-kin of her late husband who are entitled to receive the succession. [936] 595 428

If an eldest daughter, who has inherited the family property, dies without issue, her *mag-pa* is entitled to succeed to it, provided that he marries a relative of his deceased wife's family. If he, again, has no children, after his death his second wife will inherit the property if she survives him. If she does not, the relatives of his first wife will be the heirs. An heiress may make a gift of property to her *mag-pa* during her lifetime, to make sure of his possession in case of her death. Such a gift is perfectly legal, and often takes place.

Self-acquired property, as opposed to ancestral property, can always be made the object of a gift by a proprietor. He can also leave it by will to other heirs than his legal ones, despite the fact that he is not entitled to do this with family property. In some parts of Ladak (Tangtse), if a son is suffering from some incurable physical defect, a father is entitled to skip him and to arrange beforehand for some other heir to take his place. 428 [925] [932]

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114 6. *Personal field-work research*

595 After having gathered a certain amount of theoretical information of the kind which I have given above, I felt the necessity to go out and see things for myself. I asked Nono Tse-p'hün to take me to some of the polyandrous households which he knew in the neighbourhood of Leh, and he accepted readily enough.

(i) *Visits to polyandrous households*

595 601 Consequently, on the 30th of August 1938, we visited a family living in polyandry in the immediate outskirts of the town. The name of the house was *Tok-Tok* (possibly *Grogs-Grogs* or *T'hog-T'hog*) and consisted of two brothers living polyandrously, and of two of their sons by a first wife also living in this way. I give the genealogy which I made then, in Table 27, by way of illustration.

789 As we approached the Tok-Tok house I noticed a *Dö* (*mDos*) string cross over the door to catch devils. I remarked upon it and heard that in Ladak it is called a *namgo* (*rNam-mGo?*). The building was a typical
348 [353] Tibetan one, with a flat roof covered with fuel for the winter arranged in packets round the edge, thick stone walls painted white, rectangular doors and windows, the lower part of the frame broader than the upper part, with coloured decorations and a piece of cloth hanging over the top part, a *lha-k'hang* (*lHa-K'hang*) or private chapel on the first floor with *chötens* visible through the window. We entered by the front gate which led into a yard and thence into a stable, from which a staircase
115 took us up to the first floor. It was there that we met the family, and had our talk with our principal informant, the eldest father and former master of the household, Lobsang Tok-Tok.

595 428 He told us that he and his brother, Ishe Döndrup, together with their eldest sister, Skalzang Rolma, were the three children of a certain Ishe Tok-Tok now dead. The sister had been married off in *bag-ma* to the now deceased son of the Par-k'hang house (meaning "Printing House"), Samten, with whom she had had no children. She had inherited the
[597] property at his death, and would be holding it as long as she lived, or until the little girl she had adopted married and set herself up in the *k'hang-chen* as the heiress. This little girl belonged to the *p'ha-spun* of Skalzang Rolma's former husband and, for this reason, was entitled to inherit the Par-k'hang house.

591 595 888 Lobsang himself, a man in his sixties now, had been married polyandrously with his brother to a certain Tsering Panzom with whom they had had two children, a son called Stobgyal and a girl, Ishe Palkid.

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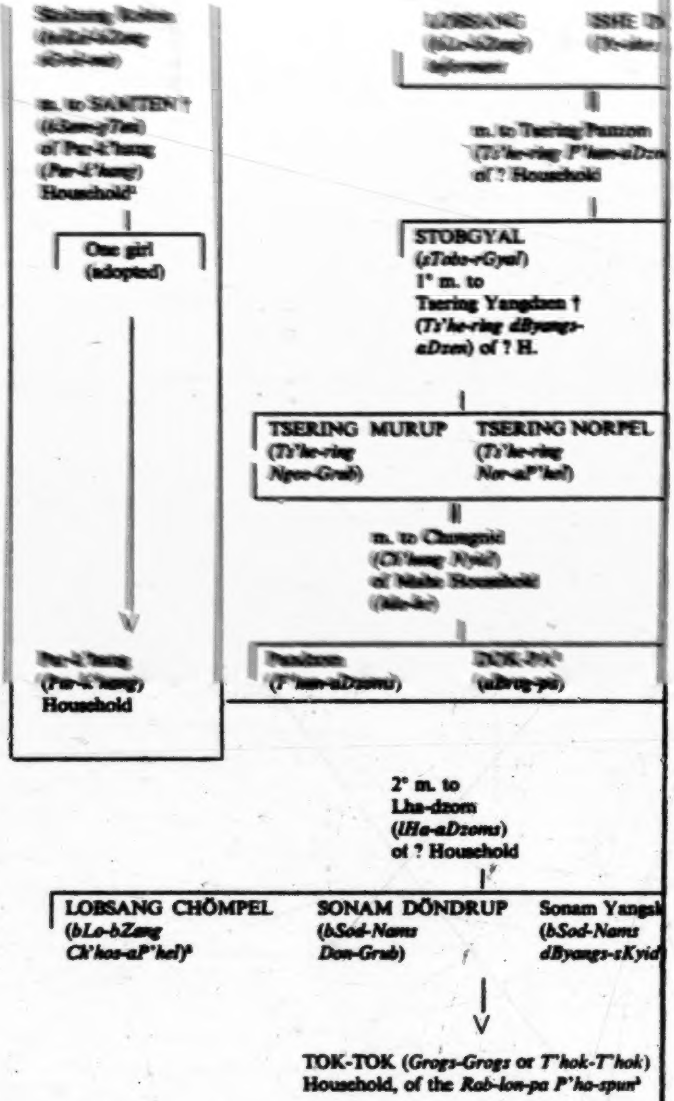
TABLE 27. GENEALOGY OF TOK-TOK (Grogs-Grogs or T'ho


Skalzang Rolma
(bsKal-bZang
sGrol-ma)
m. to SAMTEN †
(bSam-gTan)
of Par-k'hang
(Par-k'hang)
Household¹
One girl
(adopted)
Par-k'hang
(Par-k'hang)
Household
LOBSANG
(bLo-bZang)
informant
ISHE D
(Ye-shes
m. to Tsering Puntzom
(Ts'he-ring P'hun-aDzo
of ? Household
STOBGYAL
(sTobs-rGyal)
1° m. to
Tsering Yangdzen †
(Ts'he-ring dByangs-
aDzen) of ? H.
TSERING MURUP
(Ts'he-ring
Ngos-Grub)
TSERING NORPEL
(Ts'he-ring
Nor-aP'hel)
m. to Chungnid
(Ch'hung Nyid)
of [illegible] Household
([illegible])
Puntzom
(P'hun-aDzoms)
DOK-PA²
(aBrog-pa)
2° m. to
Lha-dzom
(lHa-aDzoms)
of ? Household
LOBSANG CHÖMPEL
(bLo-bZang
Ch'hos-aP'hel)³
SONAM DÖNDRUP
(bSod-Nams
Don-Grub)
Sonam Yangsk
(bSod-Nams
dByangs-sKyid
TOK-TOK (Grogs-Grogs or T'hok-T'hok)
Household, of the Rab-lon-pa P'ha-spun⁵

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[1] Skalzang Rolma is a widow and owns her late husband's house for the time being. She ha this child will inherit the Par-k'hang Household at the death of her mother by adoption, comes first.

[154
551]

[2] This little boy has no real name yet; the one he bears means "nomad" and has been given to

[3] He is a Gelug-pa lama, and lives in Lhasa.

[4] This little boy has also been given a provisional name, as above, for the same reason; (aBrog-mo) alternatively, meaning "female nomad".

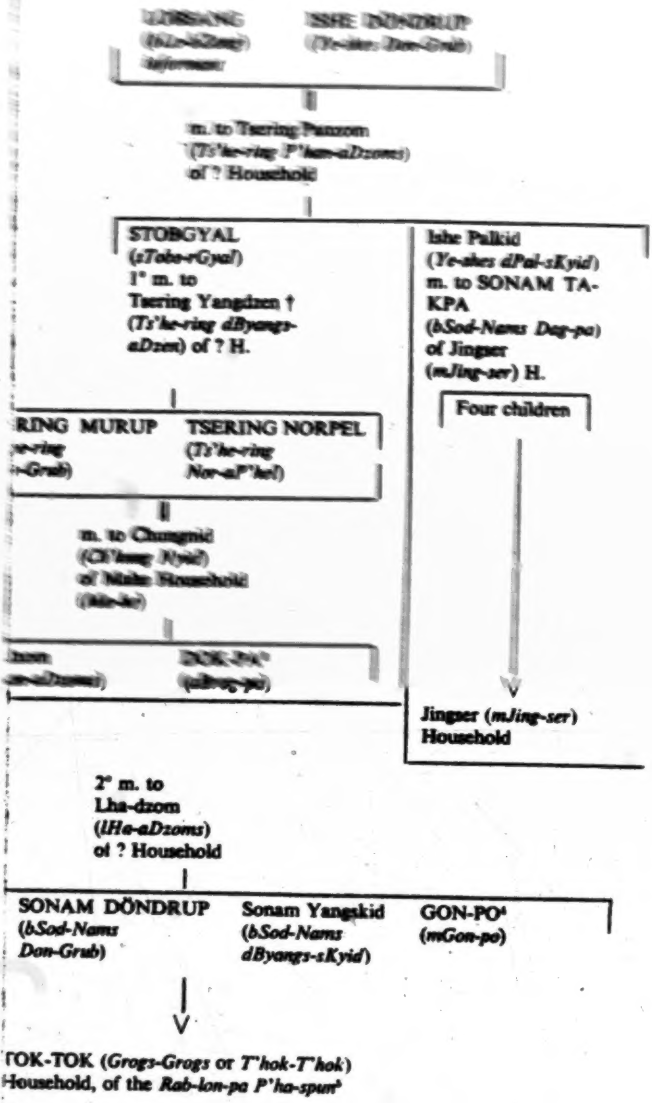
[5] See list of Ladak *P'ha-spuns*.

Capital letters denote males. Small characters are women. † = dead. m. = married. H. =

[Facing p. 360 - A]

[illegible] West Tibetans [illegible]

OF TOK-TOK (Grogs-Grogs or T'hok-T'hok) HOUSEHOLD.


LOBSANG
(bLo-bZang)
informant
ISHE DÖNDRUP
(Ye-shes Don-Grub)
m. to Tsering Panzom
(Ts'he-ring P'han-aDzoms)
of ? Household
STOBGYAL
(sTobs-rGyal)
1° m. to
Tsering Yangdzen †
(Ts'he-ring dByangs-aDzen) of ? H.
Ishe Palkid
(Ye-shes dPal-sKyid)
m. to SONAM TA-KPA
(bSod-Nams Dag-pa)
of Jingser
(mJing-ser) H.
Four children
Jingser (mJing-ser)
Household
RING MURUP
e-ring
-Grub)
TSERING NORPEL
(Ts'he-ring
Nor-aP'hel)
m. to Chungnid
(Ch'ung Nyid)
of Mahe Household
(Ma-he)
dzom
-aDzoms)
DOK-PA
(aBrog-pa)
2° m. to
Lha-dzom
(lHa-aDzoms)
of ? Household
SONAM DÖNDRUP
(bSod-Nams
Don-Grub)
Sonam Yangskid
(bSod-Nams
dByangs-sKyid)
GON-PO
(mGon-po)
TOK-TOK (Grogs-Grogs or T'hok-T'hok)
Household, of the Rab-lon-pa P'ha-spun

usband's house for the time being. She has adopted a little girl relative of her husband and
l at the death of her mother by adoption, or when she herself marries a mag-pa, whichever

ears means "nomad" and has been given to him provisionally to avert the evil eye from him.

al name, as above, for the same reason; it means "protector". He is also called Dok-mo
ad".

women. † = dead. m. = married. H. = Household

[054]
[551]

[facing p. 360-B]

The latter had been married off very early to Sonam of the Takpa household, in *bag-ma*, and Stobgyal had taken Tsering Yangdzen as his wife. He had then moved into the main part of the Tok-Tok house, and the two fathers had taken up their quarters in two small rooms on the second floor. Stobgyal had had two sons with his first wife, Tsering Murup and Tsering Norpel, and these two boys had also married polyandrously to become the rightful occupants of the *k'hang-chen*. They, their wife Chungnid and their two small children, Pandzom and Dok-pa, lived on the first floor, while Stobgyal remained in his quarters, provisionally. It appeared that he had not yet moved into a *k'hang-gu* as he should have done, because he had remarried after having become a widower, and had had five children by his second wife, Lha-dzom. 591 595 888

With so many people about the house, I found conditions a bit strenuous. The kitchen held a certain number of the children, and Lha-dzom was in there cooking. I went in to see her, but was soon driven out by the smoke, which had no chimney by which to escape, and filled the room down to about knee level. I did remain there for a short time to look round, with my head bent down to that height to keep my eyes from watering, but I soon gave it up and retreated to rejoin old Lobsang. We went out to take a photograph in which he, his brother, their son, Chungnid, and Sonam Döndrup, Lha-dzom's second son, agreed to pose, the two last ones with Dok-pa and Gon-po in their arms (see Fig. 37). 595 123 [354] [126]

Then we went in again, and sat down on carpets in the largest room on the first floor, which happened to be the one in which the *lha-k'hang* was, and had a cup of tea while we continued to discuss their family affairs. I enquired about their fields and the cultivation, the trade and their travels, and heard how their polyandry was regulated. It is from such information from these people and from others that I was able to get a clear picture of the conditions in which polyandry flourished in Ladak.

Lobsang Tok-Tok complained bitterly of the "immorality" of young people in Leh. He said that polyandry was no longer desired by the younger generation, and that this was all due to outside influence from Indian and Turki traders from Sinkiang, and from European missionaries and travellers who were perpetually speaking against the time-honoured custom of polyandrous matrimony such as Ladakis and Tibetans had always practised, and were introducing the "bad habit" of monogamous marriage. 595 199

He asked me how it was that we were so wealthy in Europe without

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He asked me how it was that we were so wealthy in Europe without
595 425 428 [182] being polyandrous. It seemed to him incomprehensible that one could stay rich while dividing up the family property with each monogamous marriage, as we do in our countries. It would be impossible to do this in Ladak, he said, because there would never be enough to go round, and everybody would quickly be reduced to famine.

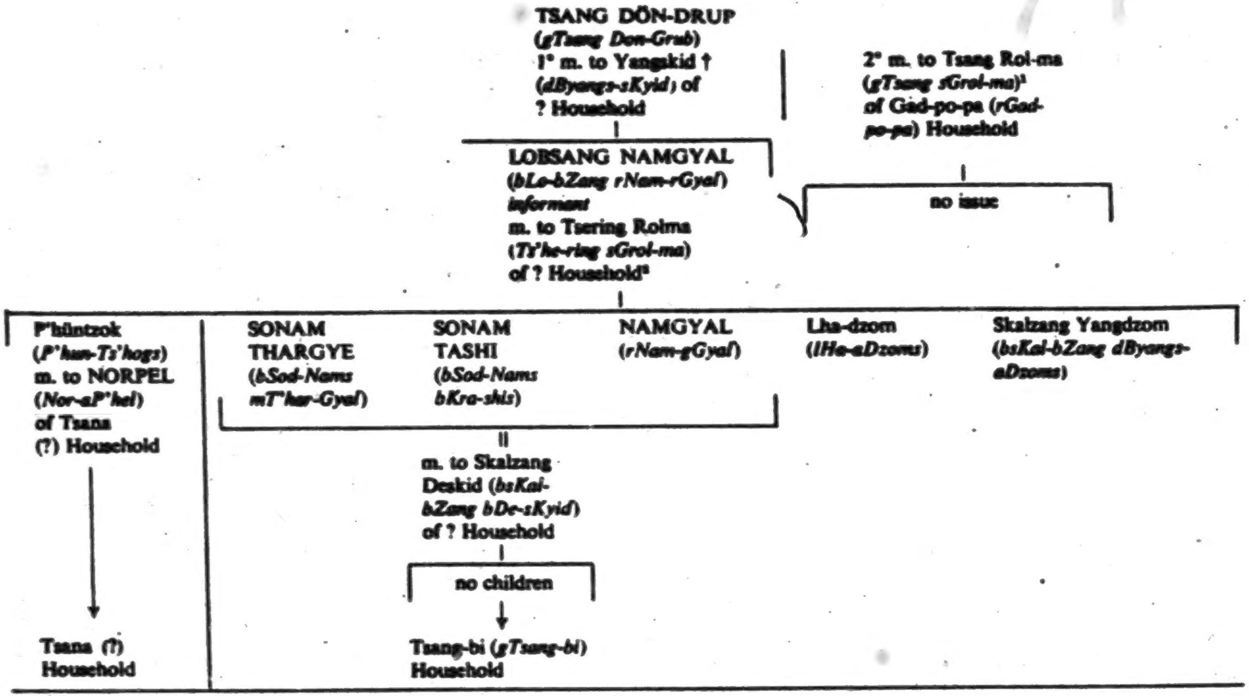
I must say that Lobsang Tok-Tok's question took me by surprise. In those days I had given no thought to this problem and it had never occurred to me yet that this might appear extraordinary to people living in polyandry. So I said that, now that I came to think of it, it was no doubt true that things were not the same with us. When we married, I said, each of us goes off with his wife and tries to fend for himself and build up a family life based on his own earnings. Of course, it meant tapping new sources of production, but then we did move away and were continually starting new enterprises in new places in order to be able to live.

Lobsang agreed that it would not be possible to do otherwise if one did not live in polyandry on the same piece of land, in the same household, generation after generation, without dividing it up. He had noticed, he said, that those Ladakis who were converts to Mohammedanism did the same as we did; they ceased, overnight, to be polyandrous, and divided up the property immeliately they got married. The result was that there was not enough to go round for all of them. The eldest brother remained on the best part of the land, and the others had to move away. They had to look for work, often as landless labourers, which was most depressing. He had noticed, too, that some of them even went further afield, and travelled all the way to Burma to work in the ruby mines there. Obviously, he concluded, they did so just as Europeans had to do, because they were monogamous, and even, in some cases, polygamous (polygynous).
595 425 428 995 [AKA]

595 123 182 Lobsang Tok-Tok was silent for a little while after this long discourse (which Nono Tse-P'hün translated for me) and I sat cross-legged opposite him, a cup of tea in my hand, looking at his heavy, mongoloid frame and face (upon which some hair did, nevertheless, grow), and wondering who was doing the field-work, he or I. Then he said something again to my interpreter and shortly afterwards I heard in English what it was that he had said. It was that he could now grasp why Europeans had colonies throughout the world, why they came to India and even to Ladak. It was obviously because with the family system that they had, they did not have enough to live on at home, and the fact that they did not practise polyandry led them to go overseas to seek

[Text continues on p. 364]

TABLE 28. GENEALOGY OF TSANG-BI (*gTsang-bi*) HOUSEHOLD.


TSANG DÖN-DRUP
(gTsang Don-Grub)
1° m. to Yangskid †
(dByangs-sKyid) of
? Household
2° m. to Tsang Rol-ma
(gTsang sGrol-ma)¹
of Gad-po-pa (rGad-po-pa) Household
no issue
LOBSANG NAMGYAL
(bLo-bZang rNam-rGyal)
informant
m. to Tsering Rolma
(Ts'he-ring sGrol-ma)
of ? Household²
P'hüntzok
(P'hun-Ts'hogs)
m. to NORPEL
(Nor-aP'hel)
of Tsana
(?) Household
Tsana (?)
Household
SONAM
THARGYE
(bSod-Nams
mT'har-Gyal)
SONAM
TASHI
(bSod-Nams
bKra-shis)
NAMGYAL
(rNam-gGyal)
Lha-dzom
(lHa-aDzoms)
Skalzang Yangdzom
(bsKal-bZang dByangs-aDzoms)
m. to Skalzang
Deskid (bsKal-bZang bDe-sKyid)
of ? Household
no children
Tsang-bi (gTsang-bi)
Household

---

[1] Living in the *k'hang-gu*. See Table 32.

[2] Parents, five children and the wife of the three boys all living in the *k'hang-chen*.

Conventional signs as in Table 27.

Ladak

Ladak

595 a livelihood – like the Moslem Ladakis who went to Burma. I was, I
123 confess, considerably impressed by the old man's perspicacity. It was
182 also a lesson to me, and showed me better than anything else what
circumstances were like in this area of Tibetan culture, and how polyandry was connected, or appeared to be, with the economic necessities of the environment.

595 That same afternoon, we went on to visit another polyandrous family
601 living in a neighbouring house. Here, an elderly father, remarried to a
new wife after his first wife had died, lived in a *k'hang-gu* situated on the family grounds, very close to the ancestral house, the *k'hang-chen*. In the latter, his son by the deceased wife,* now lived with his wife and
[115] five of six children that the couple had had. This son was our infor-
[888] mant, and apart from the polyandry in which the sons lived, I was
[591] interested to see how grandparents and parents resided separately. Their
genealogy is to be found in Table 28.

591 Lobsang Namgyal's eldest daughter was married off in *bag-ma* to the
595 eldest son of the Tsana household. His three sons were still very young
888 (the eldest only just eighteen) but were already married polyandrously
to Skalzang Deskid. She had no children yet, and I was told that they were waiting for her to have her first baby to put Lobsang Namgyal
[425] and his wife, Tsering Rolma, into a second *k'hang-gu*. This is some-
[428] times done in Ladak, instead of taking over from the parents directly
[585] after the wedding; it is as if the newly-married had no reason yet to
become the official owners of the family property. The two younger daughters, still very small, would move into the new *k'hang-gu* with their parents, I was told, and would remain there until they were married out in *bag-ma*. Asked where the "small house" was into which father and mother would eventually move, I was informed that they would take the place of Tsang Dön-drup and his wife, Tsang Rolma. These two would then go to another *k'hang-gu* situated on another piece of ancestral land, and in which grandparents always resided in the Tsang-bi family. It was quite apparent that the different portions reserved for retiring elders were always the same, awaiting new occupants which the inexorable march of time brought to them.

595 On the following day, August 31st 1938, Nono Tse-P'hün took me
601 to more polyandrous households of Leh. First, we visited a family
[888] called *Od-ldan* (*aOd-lDan*) in which an heiress had married in *mag-pa*,
[591] and lived in the *k'hang-gu* while her three boys, living in polyandry,
occupied the *k'hang-chen*. Their genealogy as I made it that day, is given in Table 29.

*[i.e., Lobsang Namgyal -- Analyst]

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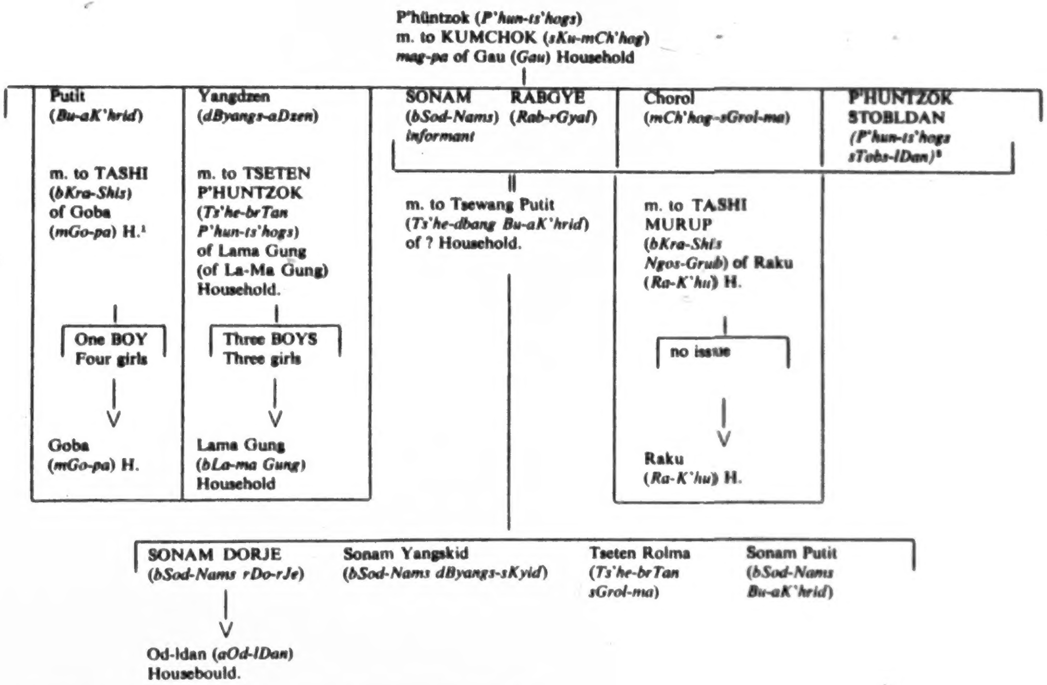
24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

TABLE 29. GENEALOGY OF OD-LDAN (*aOd-lDan*) HOUSEHOLD.


P'hüntzok (*P'hun-ts'hogs*)
m. to KUMCHOK (*sKu-mCh'hog*)
mag-pa of Gau (*Gau*) Household
Putit (*Bu-aK'hrid*)
m. to TASHI (*bKra-Shis*) of Goba (*mGo-pa*) H.[1]
One BOY Four girls
Goba (*mGo-pa*) H.
Yangdzen (*dByangs-aDzen*)
m. to TSETEN P'HUNTZOK (*Ts'he-brTan P'hun-ts'hogs*) of Lama Gung (of La-Ma Gung) Household.
Three BOYS Three girls
Lama Gung (*bLa-ma Gung*) Household
SONAM (*bSod-Nams*) *informant*
RABGYE (*Rab-rGyal*)
Chorol (*mCh'hog-sGrol-ma*)
P'HUNTZOK STOBLDAN (*P'hun-ts'hogs sTobs-lDan*)[2]
m. to Tsewang Putit (*Ts'he-dbang Bu-aK'hrid*) of ? Household.
m. to TASHI MURUP (*bKra-Shis Ngos-Grub*) of Raku (*Ra-K'hu*) H.
no issue
Raku (*Ra-K'hu*) H.
SONAM DORJE (*bSod-Nams rDo-rJe*)
Od-ldan (*aOd-lDan*) Housebould.
Sonam Yangskid (*bSod-Nams dByangs-sKyid*)
Tseten Rolma (*Ts'he-brTan sGrol-ma*)
Sonam Putit (*bSod-Nams Bu-aK'hrid*)

[1] Tashi has two brothers, and Putit is married polyandrously to these, too.

[2] He is the third husband of Tsewang Putit.

Conventional signs as in Table 27.

595 Sonam, the eldest son of the heiress living in the little house on the
115 family property with her *mag-pa*, was our informant. He told us that
591 his mother and father had moved from the big house, in which he lived,
some ten years ago. With them, went the youngest sister, then still un-
888 married, Chorol. The two eldest sisters, Putit and Yangdzen, were already married out in *bag-ma* at the time. The eldest, Putit, was married in polyandry in the Goba household, and I asked Nono Tse-P'hün to take us on to that family next, which he did.

As soon as Sonam and his two brothers, Rabgye and P'huntzok
888 Stobldan, had married Tsewang Putit, they had taken the *k'hang-chen*
591 over. Very soon afterwards, Sonam Dorje, their eldest child and only son, now aged eight, was born, and subsequently they had had three daughters, now aged six, five and two respectively.

Chorol had only recently been married off in *bag-ma* to Tashi Murup of the Raku household; that was the reason for which she did not yet have any children.

P'hüntzok Stobldan, so Nono Tse-P'hün told me later, although the youngest husband of the common wife, whom he shared with his brothers, was not happy in polyandry. He wanted very much to leave and become the *mag-pa* husband of an heiress: the daughter of one Gyurmed (*aGyur-med*), the head of a household which I have marked down
114 in my notes as being called *Tiapa*. This must be a mistake, however,
194 as the sound *Tia* does not exist in Tibetan (it may perhaps be *Tra-pa*).

Tsewang Putit was standing outside the house, near the entrance gate to the compound, during the conversation which we had with her eldest
595 husband just inside the main room. We went out again to take a group
85 photograph of the family (see Fig. 38), and when I had done this, I turned and spoke to her through the interpreter. She was holding her
126 youngest child, the little girl, Sonam Putit, in her arms, and I asked if she could tell me who its father was.

She looked surprised and looked away. I insisted, but she shook her head, and Nono Tse P'hün said that she could not tell. I then suggested that she could surely calculate backwards as to who the father was, and find out who was with her at the probable time of conception. This was put to her, but she still refused to say. Finally, after the interpreter had teased her somewhat, and the husbands had laughed her into talking, she said that she was an honest woman, and did not have any preference. This seemed to satisfy Sonam and the others very much, for they shook their heads approvingly and looked at Nono Tse P'hün as he translated to me. It was obvious that Tsewang Putit had said the right thing. It was very characteristic of the morality of polyandrous 595 people in Ladak. I noticed, furthermore, in the Od-ldan househould, 851 that all fathers of the polyandrous family, Sonom, Rabgye and P'huntzok Stobldan, were called *ap'ha* (*A-p'ha*) "father" by their children, without there being made any distinction between elder, middle, or little father, as was more usual elsewhere.

That afternoon, we went on to visit the *Goba* (*mGo-pa*) household 591 close by. Here too, we found the parents in the *k'hang-gu* and the mar- 595 888 ried children living in polyandry, with their own children, in the *k'hang-* [115] *chen*. Putit of Od-ldan, who was the lady of the house here, received us and acted as informant. I made the genealogy of the family which I [601] give here, in Table 30.

Two brothers, Lobsang and Ishe Dön-drup, were married polyandrously to Tashi Dzom-pa, whose household name I do not know. They had seven children and when the eldest boy, Tashi, got married, together with his two brothers, Padma and Sonam Tashi, to Putit of the Od-ldan household, they immediately left the *k'hang-chen* to them and went and lived in the *k'hang-gu*. They were there now, but we were unable to see them, as they had gone to Leh for the day. Lobsang was now dead, and Ishe Dön-drup lived alone with Tashi Dzompa. Their field was cultivated for them by their children of the *k'hang-chen*, so that the old people had a peaceful time.

They had always been alone in the *k'hang-gu*, as they had never had any unmarried daughters to stay with them. Ku-skid and Tsering Palkid were married off in *bag-ma* very early, so early in the case of the last daughter, that the informant could not give us the name of her husband.

The second son of the household, Stanzin, had not accepted Putit as a common wife, and had preferred to leave and go as a *mag-pa* to the heiress of a neighbouring house, Tsering Rolma of P'ho-la. It was difficult to get details from Putit about this and we did not press her, feeling that her reticence was natural. There was another *mag-pa* in the family, Dön-drup Sonam, who was married to Yangskid, heiress of the household which my notes have as Jigsten-pa.

Putit herself had had five children with her three husbands, one boy and four girls, all of whom called their fathers *ap'ha* (*A-p'ha*), indiscriminately, as in the previous case.

On the 1st September 1938, I went to yet another polyandrous house- 595 hold of Leh, called *Mahe* (*Ma-he*). It, too, was in the outskirts of the 361 town and Nono Tse-P'hün and I found it at the end of a long passage between two walls delimitating fields, as is often the custom in Ladak.

Ladak

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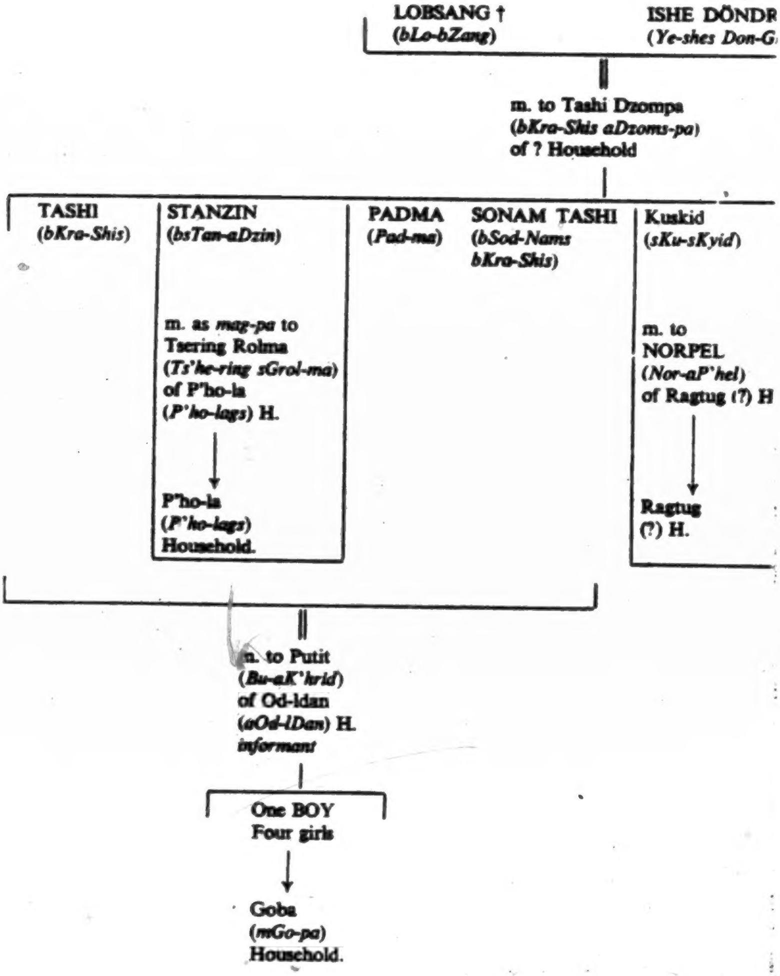
TABLE 30. GENEALOGY OF THE GOBA (*mGo-p*


LOBSANG †
(bLo-bZang)
ISHE DÖNDR
(Ye-shes Don-G
m. to Tashi Dzompa
(bKra-Shis aDzoms-pa)
of ? Household
TASHI
(bKra-Shis)
STANZIN
(bsTan-aDzin)
m. as mag-pa to
Tsering Rolma
(Ts'he-ring sGrol-ma)
of P'ho-la
(P'ho-lags) H.
P'ho-la
(P'ho-lags)
Household.
PADMA
(Pad-ma)
SONAM TASHI
(bSod-Nams
bKra-Shis)
Kuskid
(sKu-sKyid)
m. to
NORPEL
(Nor-aP'hel)
of Ragtug (?) H
Ragtug
(?) H.
m. to Putit
(Bu-aK'hrid)
of Od-ldan
(aOd-lDan) H.
informant
One BOY
Four girls
Goba
(mGo-pa)
Household.

---

[1] Name unknown because Tsering Palkid was married off in *bag-ma* so early that it is alle
Conventional signs as in Table 27.

[facing p. 367-A]

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Ladak

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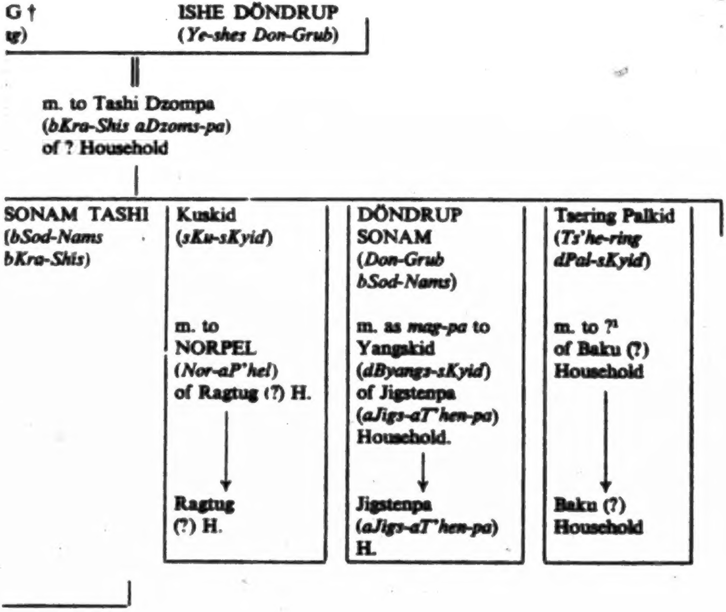
ЗY OF THE GOBA (*mGo-pa*) HOUSEHOLD.


G †
ıg)
ISHE DÖNDRUP
(Ye-shes Don-Grub)
m. to Tashi Dzompa
(bKra-Shis aDzoms-pa)
of ? Household
SONAM TASHI
(bSod-Nams bKra-Shis)
Kuskid
(sKu-sKyid)
m. to NORPEL
(Nor-aP'hel)
of Ragtug (?) H.
Ragtug (?) H.
DÖNDRUP SONAM
(Don-Grub bSod-Nams)
m. as mag-pa to Yangskid
(dByangs-sKyid)
of Jigstenpa
(aJigs-aT'hen-pa)
Household.
Jigstenpa
(aJigs-aT'hen-pa)
H.
Tsering Palkid
(Ts'he-ring dPal-sKyid)
m. to ?[1]
of Baku (?)
Household
Baku (?)
Household

off in *bag-ma* so early that it is allegedly not remembered.

[facing P. 367-B]

591 There was an entrance gate, a yard with a stable, a first floor with a
595 *lha-k'hang*, as is usual. In this house which constituted the *k'hang-chen*,
we found a family of two men, their common wife and three boys, as
[351] well as a divorced sister of the brothers. At the end of the field, attaining
to the house, was a smaller building, with a field of its own. This
[888] was the *k'hang-gu*, and in it were the parents of the men. These parents
consisted of a decrepit old hag and her three old husbands, and they
had been living there for some six years already. The eldest of the men
595 in the *k'hang-chen*, named Sonam Tsewang, acted as the informant,
601 and it was with him that I made the genealogical tree of the family as
[115] shown here in Table 31.

The eldest sister of the fathers in the *k'hang-gu* was dead, it seemed. She had been married off in *bag-ma* to two brothers of a household called Chubipa, and she had had sons to continue the line there. The three brothers had married one woman called Sonam Putit – the old hag who was living with the men – and these people had had five children, three daughters and two boys.

595 The eldest daughter, Tsewang Palmo, had fallen in love and married
[197] a Christian called Dorge, much to her family's displeasure, not so much
because of the difference in religion, but because, being a convert of
the mission, he had no land of his own (he had been excluded by his
own family) and had to work as a peon. The second daughter, Standzin
[586] Rolma, had married into a household called Kushu but had since divorced
and had returned to her brothers. She now lived in the *k'hang-chen*
as is the custom, and her brothers had to see to it that she was
maintained. I was not able to find out under what circumstances she
divorced.

The two boys, Sonam Tsewang and Skalzang, were married polyandrously with a woman named Ishe Rolma. They had three boys with her, and the continuity of the Mahe household through males was thus assured. A sister, born between the birthdays of the two men, called Chungnid, was the one we had met at the Tok-Tok household on the 30th of August. She was married polyandrously in *bag-ma* there to the two sons of Stobgye, Tsering Murup and Tsering Norpel.

595 We spent the afternoon of the same day at the house of an *amchi*
759 or native Tibetan doctor, the *Gadpo-pa* (*rGad-po-pa*) Household. There
601 was only a grandmother alive in this house, and she lived in the *k'hang-gu*
[888] reserved for her. The son, Chonde, who was a doctor, lived in a
[463] larger *k'hang-gu* than usual, because, as an *amchi*, he had private
means and could add to the small home as he wanted. Actually, the

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

Ladak

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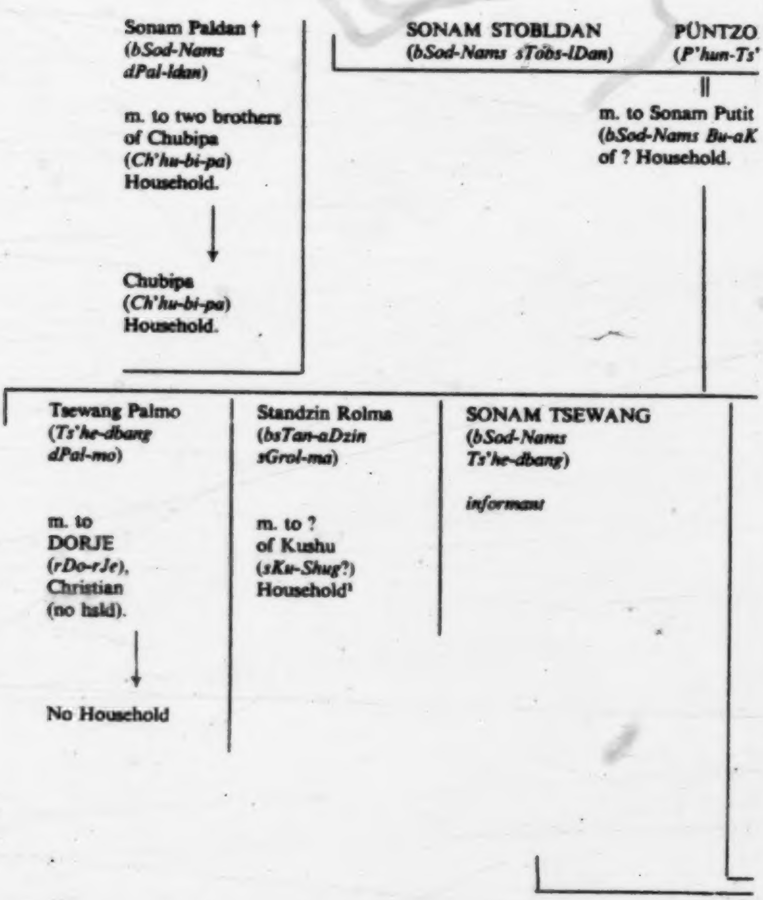
TABLE 31. GENEALOGY OF MAHE (*Ma-he*)


Sonam Paldan †
(*bSod-Nams dPal-ldan*)
m. to two brothers of Chubipa (*Ch'hu-bi-pa*) Household.
Chubipa (*Ch'hu-bi-pa*) Household.
SONAM STOBLDAN
(*bSod-Nams sTobs-lDan*)
PÜNTZO
(*P'hun-Ts'*
m. to Sonam Putit
(*bSod-Nams Bu-aK*
of ? Household.
Tsewang Palmo
(*Ts'he-dbang dPal-mo*)
m. to DORJE (*rDo-rJe*), Christian (no hsld).
No Household
Standzin Rolma
(*bsTan-aDzin sGrol-ma*)
m. to ? of Kushu (*sKu-Shug*?) Household¹
SONAM TSEWANG
(*bSod-Nams Ts'he-dbang*)
informant

---

[1] She has divorced her husband and has returned to live with her brothers.

[2] See Table 27.

Conventional signs as in Table 27.

[facing p. 368-A]

Ladak

LOGY OF MAHE (*Ma-he*) HOUSEHOLD.

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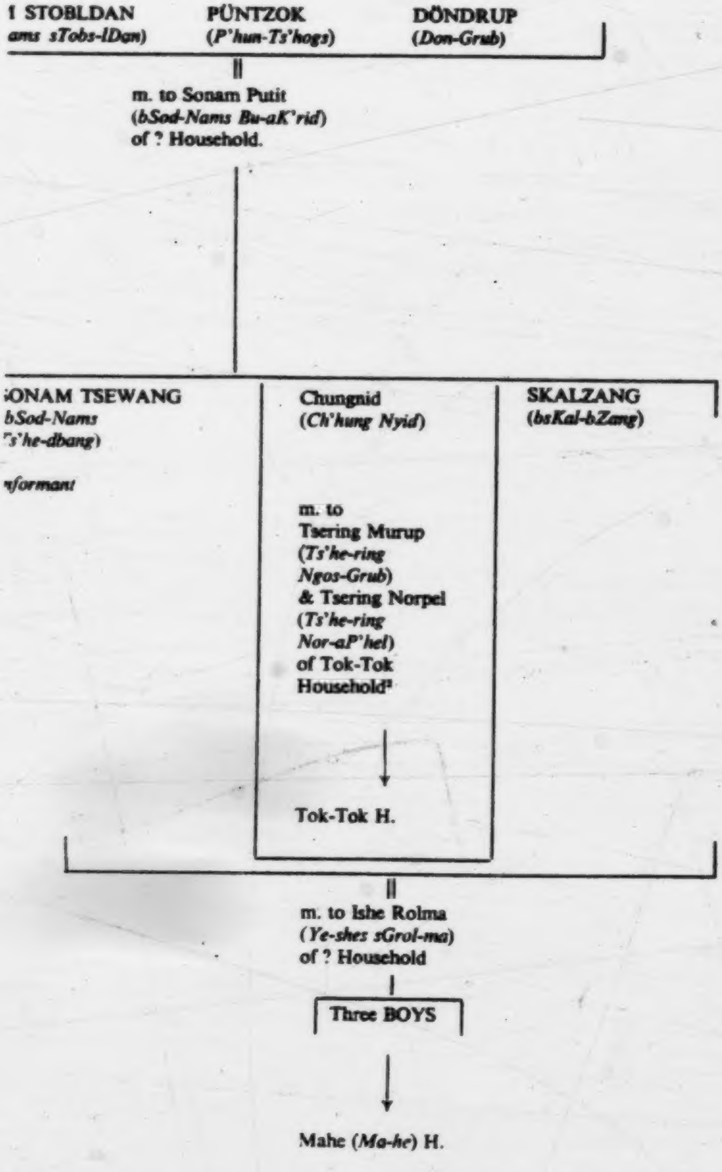

I STOBLDAN
ams sTobs-lDan)
PÜNTZOK
(P'hun-Ts'hogs)
DÖNDRUP
(Don-Grub)
m. to Sonam Putit
(bSod-Nams Bu-aK'rid)
of ? Household.
SONAM TSEWANG
bSod-Nams
Ts'he-dbang)
nformant
Chungnid
(Ch'hung Nyid)
m. to
Tsering Murup
(Ts'he-ring
Ngos-Grub)
& Tsering Norpel
(Ts'he-ring
Nor-aP'hel)
of Tok-Tok
Household[1]
Tok-Tok H.
SKALZANG
(bsKal-bZang)
m. to Ishe Rolma
(Ye-shes sGrol-ma)
of ? Household
Three BOYS
Mahe (Ma-he) H.

e with her brothers.

[facing p. 368-B]

Ladak

601

profession is hereditary, and although the other members of the family lived as peasants, one of the sons, usually the eldest, was educated as a doctor and became proficient in the trade, extra to the otherwise habitual agricultural work. 595 [059] [463]

In the *k'hang-chen*, we found no less than four married men, sharing a very young wife (I was told that she was only fifteen, but considering that she had five children already, I feel that this could not have been true). The genealogy of the family is given here in Table 32.

The informant, Chonde, had two sisters, one older and one younger. They were both married off in *bag-ma*, and the youngest proved to be Tsewang Rolma whom we had met in the Tsang-bi Household, where she was wed to Tsang Dondrup as his second wife. 595 [115]

Of the informant's children, one, the third, had became a lama, while the fifth had preferred to go and be the *mag-pa* of the Amchi family (a related doctor's household, but bearing the name of the trade as a patronimic) than to remain at home with his brothers and share their common wife.

I did not visit another polyandrous household and make its genealogy until the 17th September 1938. And when I did so, it was at Chushod, opposite Leh, on the left bank of the Indus. Most of the inhabitants of this town are Musulmans, but there are a few Buddhist famililes among them, and it was interesting to see how they had retained their customs, including polyandry. [162]

The family which Nono Tse-P'hün had specially brought me to see, however, was one in which there was a *porjag*, that is an extra man brought in when the husband or husbands fail to produce a child with their wife. The household name of this family was *Shing-k'hang pa* (*Shing-K'hang-pa*), and it consisted of only one man and his wife, Rigzin and Ishe Palkid, to which a younger man, the *porjag*, called Paldan, had been added. I made their genealogy, which I give in Table 33. It will be seen that other members of the household had left it to marry outside: Ngawang Standzin to become a lama, another brother of Rigzin, Skalzang, to become a *mag-pa*, a sister, now called Amina, who, having married a Musulman and changed her religion, was not considered to be part of the Buddhist community any longer, and Ishe Paljor, the youngest, who was a *porjag* in the Bata household (see Table 34). 595 601 [842]

The *k'hang-gu* in the fields of this household stood empty, its occupants, Rigzin's parents, P'huntzok and Paldzom, being dead now. The *k'hang-chen* which we visited was a house of normal Ladaki pro- 595

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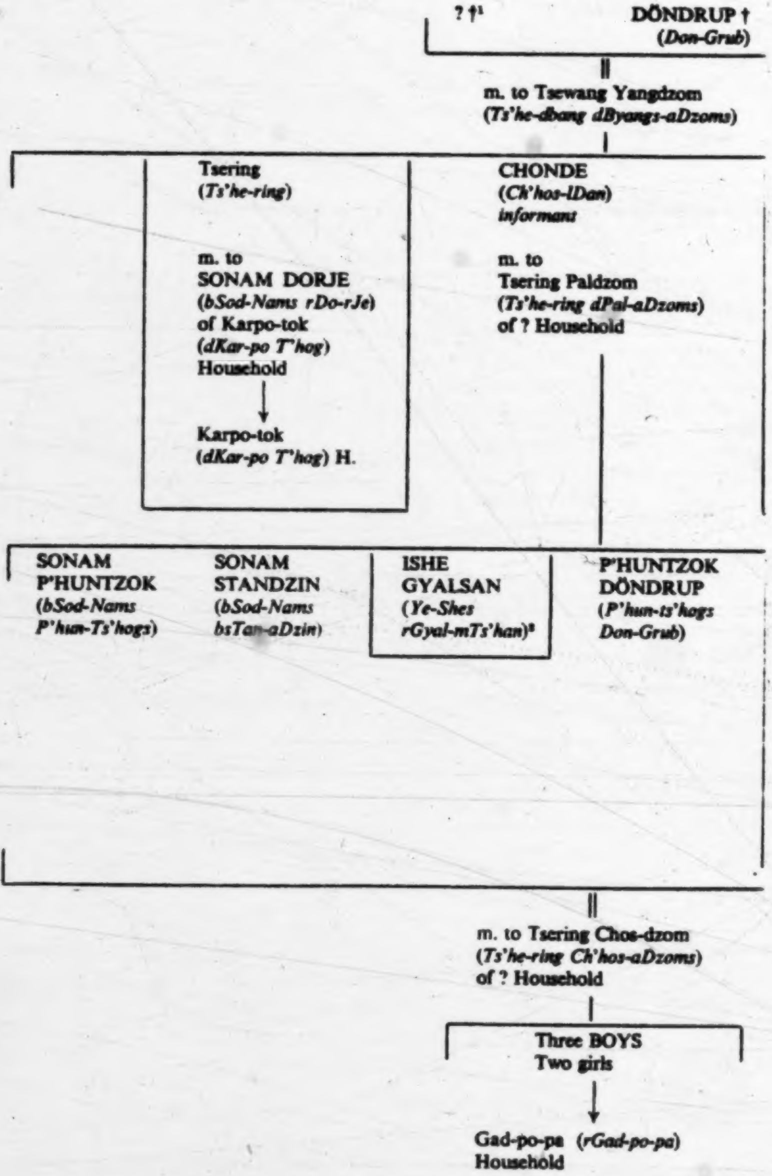
TABLE 32. GENEALOGY OF THE GAD-PO-PA (rGa


? †[1]
DÖNDRUP †
(Don-Grub)
m. to Tsewang Yangdzom
(Ts'he-dbang dByangs-aDzoms)
Tsering
(Ts'he-ring)
m. to
SONAM DORJE
(bSod-Nams rDo-rJe)
of Karpo-tok
(dKar-po T'hog)
Household
Karpo-tok
(dKar-po T'hog) H.
CHONDE
(Ch'hos-lDan)
informant
m. to
Tsering Paldzom
(Ts'he-ring dPal-aDzoms)
of ? Household
SONAM
P'HUNTZOK
(bSod-Nams
P'hun-Ts'hogs)
SONAM
STANDZIN
(bSod-Nams
bsTan-aDzin)
ISHE
GYALSAN
(Ye-Shes
rGyal-mTs'han)[2]
P'HUNTZOK
DÖNDRUP
(P'hun-ts'hogs
Don-Grub)
m. to Tsering Chos-dzom
(Ts'he-ring Ch'hos-aDzoms)
of ? Household
Three BOYS
Two girls
Gad-po-pa (rGad-po-pa)
Household

---

[1] Name unreadable in my notes.

[2] Has become a Gelug-pa lama in the Sankar gompa.

Conventional signs as in Table 27.

[facing P. 369-A]

Ladak

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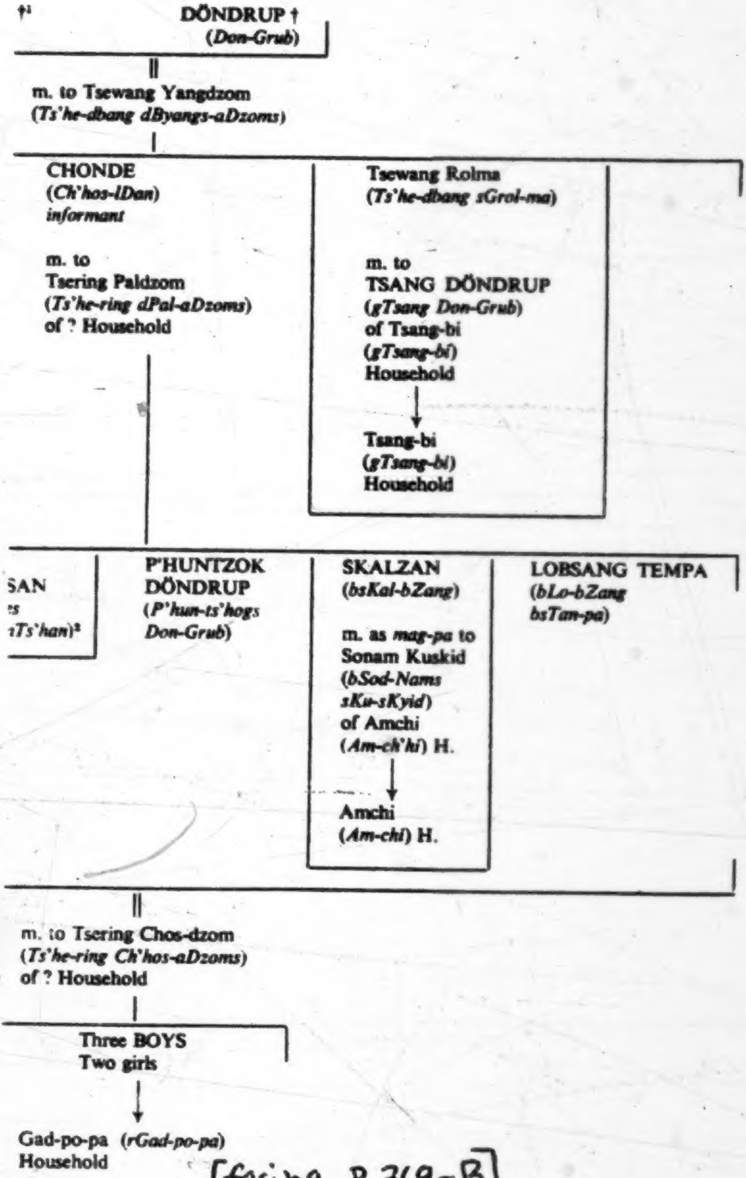
601

OF THE GAD-PO-PA (*rGad-po-pa*) HOUSEHOLD.


†[1]
DÖNDRUP †
(Don-Grub)
m. to Tsewang Yangdzom
(Ts'he-dbang dByangs-aDzoms)
CHONDE
(Ch'hos-lDan)
informant
m. to
Tsering Paldzom
(Ts'he-ring dPal-aDzoms)
of ? Household
Tsewang Rolma
(Ts'he-dbang sGrol-ma)
m. to
TSANG DÖNDRUP
(gTsang Don-Grub)
of Tsang-bi
(gTsang-bi)
Household
Tsang-bi
(gTsang-bi)
Household
SAN
es
Ts'han)[2]
P'HUNTZOK
DÖNDRUP
(P'hun-ts'hogs
Don-Grub)
SKALZAN
(bsKal-bZang)
m. as mag-pa to
Sonam Kuskid
(bSod-Nams
sKu-sKyid)
of Amchi
(Am-ch'hi) H.
Amchi
(Am-chi) H.
LOBSANG TEMPA
(bLo-bZang
bsTan-pa)
m. to Tsering Chos-dzom
(Ts'he-ring Ch'hos-aDzoms)
of ? Household
Three BOYS
Two girls
Gad-po-pa (rGad-po-pa)
Household

[facing p. 369-B]

595 portions, although rather poorer than those of Leh, the inhabitants of Chushod not being so well off as those of the Ladaki capital. I was struck by the untidy, dirty and miserable appearance of those whom we interviewed. None of them acted specially as informant, Nono Tse-P'hün putting his questions to all three of the occupants of the *k'hang-chen*.

595 842 Ishe Palkid's story was that she had been married at 21 and that she had had a child almost immediately but which was, unfortunately, still-born. She had then waited for five years, and as she did not have another baby, and also because Rigzin was alone to cultivate the fields, she agreed to her husband's proposal that Paldan of the Tagchod household should be called in. He was the youngest son of that family, and agreed to join the couple in his double role of extra cultivator and sire to the descendence of the Shing-k'hang household. Seven years had now passed since he had come, but Ishe Palkid did not conceive again. In [599] desperation, they were thinking now of adopting a child, and their choice had already fallen upon one of the sons of Skalzan of the Shingo-pa household.

Upon enquiry, I found that the *porjag* was looked upon exactly as if he were a brother of Rigzin and that this polyandry, which was not fraternal, was, in fact, effectively treated as if it were so. Everything belonging to Rigzin in the house was now shared with the *porjag*, Paldan, who was a *de facto* joint proprietor of the Shing-k'hang-pa property. Paldan was some seven years younger than the wife, having been married to her when he was only nineteen. Rigzin, from a Ladaki point of view even, was not old and quite able to work. He was approximately thirty five, and in good health. But he did not seem able to cultivate the land as he should, and needed another man to help him, he said.

594 114 On the 18th September 1938, that is the next day, we went and saw another household, near Leh, in which there was also a *porjag*. It was in a family called *Bata* (*Ba-ta?*) and as things turned out, the genealogy which I made there proved to be the most representative of all those I made in Ladak; it is the one with the greatest variety of cases, showing all the different aspects of the way the social system functions among those polyandrous people.

I have already published this genealogy, the genealogy of the *Tsong-k'har-pa* (*Btsong-mK'har-pa*) household, in *Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences*, Ser. II, vol. 10, April 1948, No. 6, under the title "Tibetan, Toda and Tiya Polyandry: a Report of Field Investigation". It appears on page 215 of the above publication, but in the

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 372]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak
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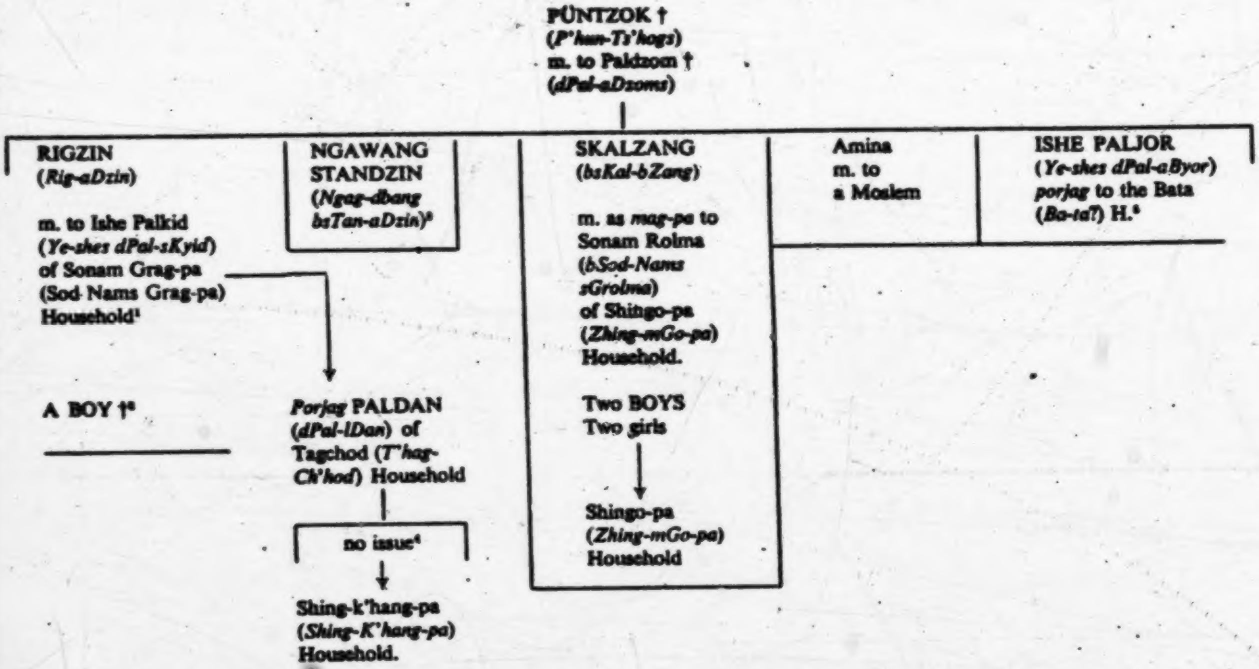
TABLE 33. GENEALOGY OF THE SHING-K'HANG-PA (*Shing-K'hang-pa*) HOUSEHOLD.


PÜNTZOK †
(*P'hun-Ts'hogs*)
m. to Paldzom †
(*dPal-aDzoms*)
RIGZIN
(*Rig-aDzin*)
m. to Ishe Palkid
(*Ye-shes dPal-sKyid*)
of Sonam Grag-pa
(Sod Nams Grag-pa)
Household[1]
A BOY †[2]
NGAWANG
STANDZIN
(*Ngag-dbang*
bsTan-aDzin)[3]
Porjag PALDAN
(*dPal-lDan*) of
Tagchod (*T'hag-*
Ch'hod) Household
no issue[4]
Shing-k'hang-pa
(*Shing-K'hang-pa*)
Household.
SKALZANG
(*bsKal-bZang*)
m. as *mag-pa* to
Sonam Rolma
(*bSod-Nams*
sGrolma)
of Shingo-pa
(*Zhing-mGo-pa*)
Household.
Two BOYS
Two girls
Shingo-pa
(*Zhing-mGo-pa*)
Household
Amina
m. to
a Moslem
ISHE PALJOR
(*Ye-shes dPal-aByor*)
porjag to the Bata
(*Ba-ta*?) H.[5]

[1] Ishe Palkid was married when she was twenty-one years old.
[2] The child was still-born.
[3] A lama.
[4] They are thinking of adopting a child to continue the household.
[5] See Table 34.

Conventional signs as in Table 27.

595 form which I gave it then. I have since learned Tibetan, and I had the
114 good fortune to be able to review it with my Ladaki informant, Nono
Tse-P'hün, in Kalimpong, on the 3rd December 1953, so that I have
made many corrections in the spelling, and have given what now
appears to be the correct orthography of the names.

The Bata household was situated quite close to Leh, in the immediate
595 vicinity, like the first families which we visited: It consisted of four
601 people, one elderly man called Döndrup, his son Murup, the latter's
[115] wife Palkid, and her *porjag* whose name was Paljor; he was the young-
est of the Shing-k'hang-pa household which we had examined earlier,
and the genealogy of which is given in Table 33. All these people acted
as informants, Nono Tse-P'hün gathering information for me not from
only one of them but rather from them all together as they stood out-
[591] side their house and talked with us. They all lived in the Bata *k'hang-
chen*, there being no reason, as we shall see, for Döndrup, the elder,
to go to a *k'hang-gu*. The house was of the usual type, standing close
to the cultivations. We remained outside, and spoke to these people in
[126] the field, as can be seen from the photograph (Fig. 41), which I took
at the conclusion of the interview.

In Table 34, in which the genealogy of the *Tsong-k'har-pa* (*bTsong-
mK'har-pa*) household is given, it will be seen that the Bata household
grew out of it in the following way. Döndrup's father, Tsong-gu Malik,
now dead, was married to a woman called Sonam of the Bata house-
hold, one which was well-known in Leh. They had three children, all
boys, of whom Döndrup was the youngest. With the elder brothers,
P'hüntzok and Pe-leg, he married polyandrously a woman named Putit
of P'ho-sang household. And with this common wife, the brothers had
no less than twelve children, of whom six died and six survived.

Döndrup's mother, Sonam, died after all her brothers, and no heirs
[428] remained for the Bata household from which she had come; none were
even adopted it seemed. For this reason, after P'hüntzok and Pe-leg
had taken over the *k'hang-chen* of the Tsong-k'har-pa house, Döndrup
was made heir to the Bata household, that is the one of his mother.
He went and lived there immediately, and the sons he had with his
brothers' common wife, helped him to cultivate the land there.

The eldest of these boys, Ishe Paljor, together with his brother, Ishe
[797] (now dead), then married a certain Moslem woman, who took the name
[553] Senghe Tsomo when she became Buddhist (as she should to marry
[591] Buddhists). These children then took over the *k'hang-chen*, and P'hün-
tzok and Pe-leg moved into the *k'hang-gu* at Tsong-k'har-pa. A third

TABLE 34. GENEALOGY OF TSONG-K'HAR-PA (*bTsong-mK'har-pa*)

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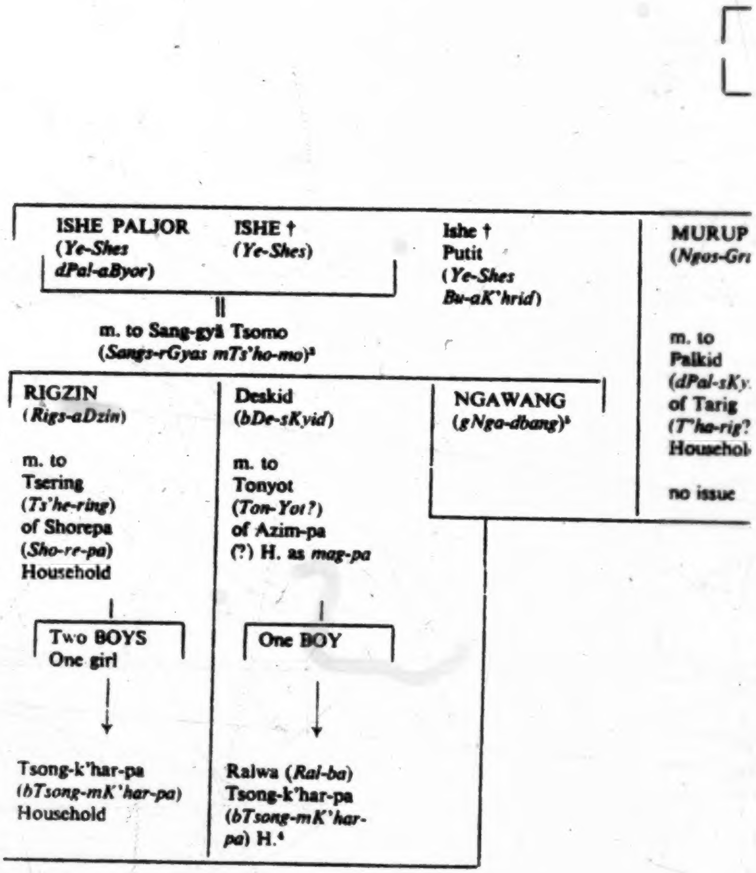
601


ISHE PALJOR
(Ye-Shes dPal-aByor)
ISHE †
(Ye-Shes)
Ishe †
Putit
(Ye-Shes Bu-aK'hrid)
MURUP
(Ngos-Gr
m. to Sang-gyä Tsomo
(Sangs-rGyas mTs'ho-mo)³
m. to
Palkid
(dPal-sKy
of Tarig
(T'ha-rig?
Househol
no issue
RIGZIN
(Rigs-aDzin)
m. to
Tsering
(Ts'he-ring)
of Shorepa
(Sho-re-pa)
Household
Deskid
(bDe-sKyid)
m. to
Tonyot
(Ton-Yot?)
of Azim-pa
(?) H. as mag-pa
NGAWANG
(gNga-dbang)¹
Two BOYS
One girl
One BOY
Tsong-k'har-pa
(bTsong-mK'har-pa)
Household
Ralwa (Ral-ba)
Tsong-k'har-pa
(bTsong-mK'har-pa) H.⁴

[551] "Little Tsong king", obviously a nickname with a Moslem connotation (Malik = Arabic for "king").

Dondrup received the Bata household, as all his mother's brothers died without heirs.

She was a Moslem, but changed religion and name to marry her husband.

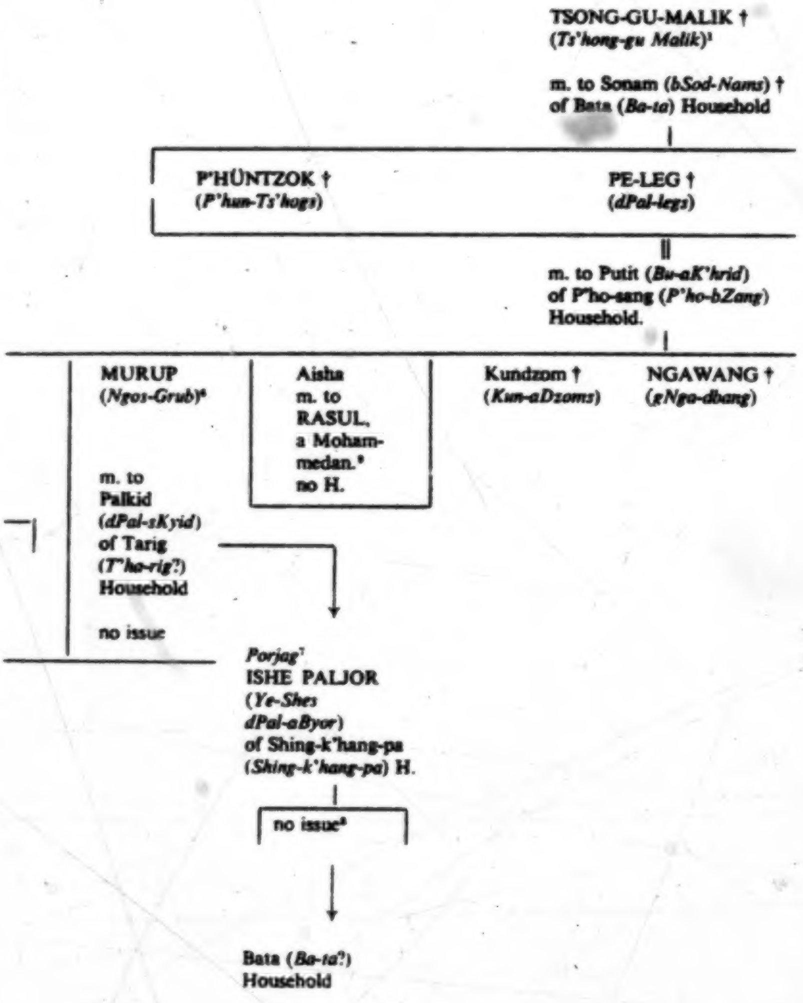
Conventional signs as in Table 27.

[facing p. 372-A]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

595
601
[551]

Tsong-mK'har-pa) HOUSEHOLD.


TSONG-GU-MALIK †
(*Ts'hong-gu Malik*)[1]
m. to Sonam (*bSod-Nams*) †
of Bata (*Ba-ta*) Household
P'HÜNTZOK †
(*P'hun-Ts'hogs*)
PE-LEG †
(*dPal-legs*)
m. to Putit (*Bu-aK'hrid*)
of P'ho-sang (*P'ho-bZang*)
Household.
MURUP
(*Ngos-Grub*)[6]
m. to
Palkid
(*dPal-sKyid*)
of Tarig
(*T'ho-rig?*)
Household
no issue
Aisha
m. to
RASUL,
a Moham-
medan.[5]
no H.
Kundzom †
(*Kun-aDzoms*)
NGAWANG †
(*gNga-dbang*)
Porjag[7]
ISHE PALJOR
(*Ye-Shes*
dPal-aByor)
of Shing-k'hang-pa
(*Shing-k'hang-pa*) H.
no issue[8]
Bata (*Ba-ta?*)
Household

---

otation (Malik =

ters died without

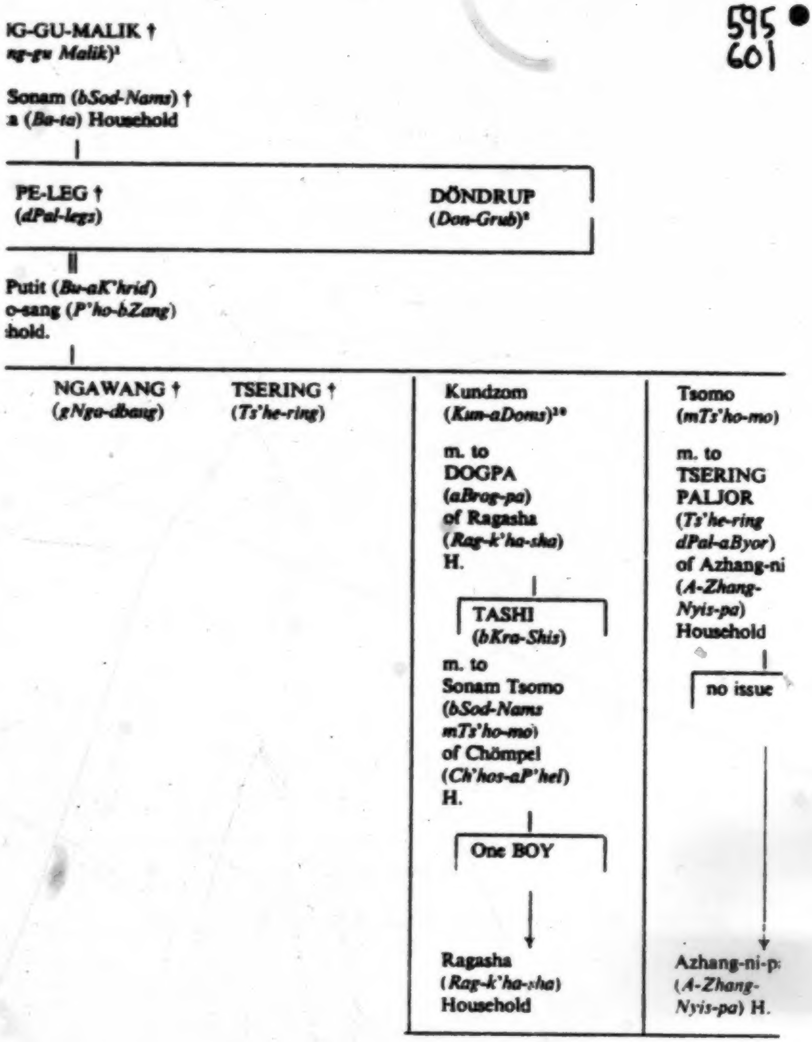
husband.

[4] Deskid was a tenant without occupation on some land *mag-pa* ad founded the Ralwa Tsong-k'har-pa H.

[5] He is a lama at Himis gompa.

[6] Murup received the Bata H. and continued it, while Ish the Tsong-k'har-pa Household.

[facing p. 392-B]


IG-GU-MALIK †
(*ng-gu Malik*)[1]
Sonam (*bSod-Nams*) †
a (*Bu-ta*) Household
PE-LEG †
(*dPal-legs*)
DÖNDRUP
(*Don-Grub*)[8]
Putit (*Bu-aK'hrid*)
o-sang (*P'ho-bZang*)
hold.
NGAWANG †
(*gNga-dbang*)
TSERING †
(*Ts'he-ring*)
Kundzom
(*Kun-aDoms*)[10]
m. to
DOGPA
(*aBrog-pa*)
of Ragasha
(*Rag-k'ha-sha*)
H.
TASHI
(*bKra-Shis*)
m. to
Sonam Tsomo
(*bSod-Nams mTs'ho-mo*)
of Chömpel
(*Ch'hos-aP'hel*)
H.
One BOY
Ragasha
(*Rag-k'ha-sha*)
Household
Tsomo
(*mTs'ho-mo*)
m. to
TSERING
PALJOR
(*Ts'he-ring dPal-aByor*)
of Azhang-ni
(*A-Zhang-Nyis-pa*)
Household
no issue
Azhang-ni-p
(*A-Zhang-Nyis-pa*) H.

---

cupation on some land of her brother: she took a
Tsong-k'har-pa H.

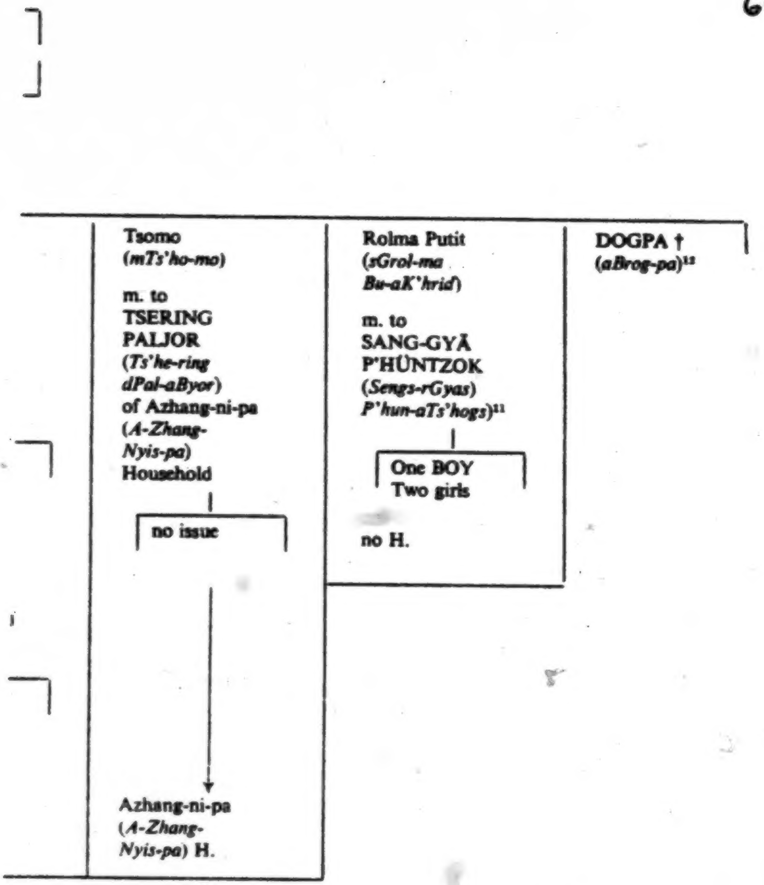
d continued it, while Ishe Paljor and Ishe continued

[7] *Porjag* taken after
[8] Childless still after
[9] Moslem name as m
[10] Same name as earli
[11] Moh. convert to B
[12] No name: this one

[facing p. 372-C]

Ladak

595
601


Tsomo
(*mTs'ho-mo*)
m. to
TSERING
PALJOR
(*Ts'he-ring dPal-aByor*)
of Azhang-ni-pa
(*A-Zhang-Nyis-pa*)
Household
no issue
Azhang-ni-pa
(*A-Zhang-Nyis-pa*) H.
Rolma Putit
(*sGrol-ma Bu-aK'hrid*)
m. to
SANG-GYĂ
P'HÜNTZOK
(*Sengs-rGyas*)
P'hun-aTs'hogs)[11]
One BOY
Two girls
no H.
DOGPA †
(*aBrog-pa*)[12]

---

[7] *Porjag* taken after 20 years of childless marriage.
[8] Childless still after 4 years could adopt a child.
[9] Moslem name as married a Moslem.
[10] Same name as earlier dead girl in commemoration.
[11] Moh. convert to Budh. Is now manager of Himis gompa.
[12] No name; this one against the evil eye (means "nomad").

[facing p. 372-D]

[551]
[754]

son, Murup, was, however, made Döndrup's heir at the Bata household, 595
so that he came to join his youngest father there, without putting the 601
latter in a *k'hang-gu*. Some time later, he married Palkid of Tarig, and [591]
continued to live with his father in the Bata *k'hang-chen*. This was
some twenty four years ago, and in the meantime, Palkid not having [842]
any children, it was decided that a *porjag* should be called in. The
reason for this was apparently not only because of the wife's sterility.
As in the earlier case at Shing-k'hang-pa, I was told that Döndrup and
Murup were insufficient to cultivate the land, and that another man
was needed. Ishe Paljor of Shing-k'hang-pa household was thus called
in four years before my visit, and duly married to Palkid as her extra
husband. He was certainly a help in working the fields, but he in no
way remedied the barrenness of Murup's wife. She told me that they [597]
were now thinking adopting an heir, but she could not say whom they
had in mind at this early stage.

In the Tsong-k'har-pa household, I heard, there were now three [591]
k'hang-gus: one was that in which Putit, Döndrup's mother, lived (she
was still alive); the other, the one in which Ishe Paljor and Sang-gyä
Tsomo lived (Ishe, the younger brother had died after the polyandrous
marriage); and the third was the quite paradoxical case of Deskid, the
couple's daughter, who had rented one from her brother, Rigzin, who
was now in possession of the *k'hang-chen* with his wife, Tsering of
Shorepa, and their three children. On this rented portion, of which 428
she was a tenant without occupation, she lived with a *mag-pa* whom
she had taken to herself, a certain Tonyot of Azim-pa, and had one boy.
Her share was considered as a split-off portion of the Tsong-k'har-pa
household, and bore the name of Ralwa Tsong-k'har-pa, or "cleft Tsong-k'har-pa".
Her son was apparently considered to be the heir to this
new household, but how this was possible, considering the tenancy was
of so precarious a nature, was not explained to me.

Rigzin and Deskid had a younger brother, Ngawang, who had, however, 595
left the family before his elder brother married, and become a 601
lama at Himis gompa. He was entitled to a share of the family property 992
in accordance with Ladaki customary law, but for the time being
was not claiming it, and lived together with his fellow-monks on the
revenue of the monastery. He was also entitled to share his elder brother's
wife with the latter, his order not being celibate, but it was not
specified whether he did so or not.

Döndrup told us that of his other children, a daughter, now called 595
Aisha, bore that name because she had married a Moslem Ladaki with 601
whom she lived in Leh. 551

595 whom she lived in Leh. Three other daughters, Kundzom, Tsomo and Rolma Putit, were all married out in *bag-ma*, the two first of these, at
601 least, to other families. They were the mistresses, respectively, of the
[797] Ragasha and the Azhang-ni-pa households, but their younger sister had married a certain Sang-gyä P'hüntzok who, curiously enough, was a convert to Buddhism from his original Moslem faith, – surely a very rare occurrence. He was employed as a manager of the Himis gompa, where he was in charge of trade and accounts, and made a comfortable
[792] living. But he had no household, and no *zhing-kham* to hand down, so that they lived in quarters in the monastery grounds. His conversion was responsible for this; the situation could nevertheless be remedied if he purchased some land and settled on it. The couple had three children, and the succession was thus assured beforehand.

595 114 (ii) *Information gathered concerning the functioning of polyandry in Ladak*

From all these families that I visited with Nono Tseten P'hüntzok between the 30th August and the 18th September 1938, I gathered much information as to the rules of polyandry, and how these marriages functioned.

184 I heard thus of the manner in which polyandry is regulated in Ladak.
595 In many ways, it appeared to be very similar to what I had already learned in Lahul, except that, perhaps because of the climate being colder, there seemed to be less sexual privacy. Another reason for this, probably, was that the Ladaki is more sedentary than the Lahuli and does not leave his home as regularly on commercial trips, so that one alone out of a woman's many husbands remains with her; in Ladak, all the brothers are almost constantly resident in the family house, and it is consequently more difficult to establish a sort of roster between them in their relations with the common wife.

595 Every house in Leh has a large common room, well heated because
342 the kitchen fireplace is either in it or close by, in another smaller room
[354] which communicates with it. This room is the one in which the entire family of the *k'hang-chen* lives during the long winter months, the one in which everything goes on all day and all night, eating, sleeping, procreation and the like. Its name is the *Jan-sa* (*Byan-sa*), which means "kitchen place", and I was told that the main reason for which everybody lives here in winter, herded together, is because it is warm and there is not enough fuel to heat the other rooms in the house.

595 Of course, it is not a rule that public mating in the *Jan-sa* takes place.
833

Ladak

It all depends upon how people feel about such things, my informants 595 said. Sometimes, the wife will regulate who, of her many husbands, 833 should be with her; at other times, one of the brothers will do so, not necessarily the eldest, but generally the one with the most personality, the one who has the greatest influence with them all. Again, it is possible for the brothers to agree among themselves as to who shall go with their wife for the night, while it is not excluded that they should all of them have relations with her in the same night. Things can be done discreetly, in the dark, with some item of furniture in front of the bed for greater privacy. But this is not always the case, and often relations between husbands and the wife take place with a lamp lit, and in full view of the others, including the children. Not much clothing, however, is discarded, partly out of modesty, but also because it is cold.

I asked here, too, if signals were ever made use of at the door, should the marriage not be consummated in the common room. This question was usually received with great guffaws of laughter; the very idea seemed to amuse them. No, they said, there were no signals; nobody ever left anything at the door. As far as they knew, it had never been done, either.

To my question as to how, then, did they decide who should sleep with the common wife, one of my informants (at the Od-ldan household) looked at me slily and asked if I were, myself, married. When I answered that I was, he asked whether, then, I decided with my wife that, as let us say seven p.m. tonight, we would have intercourse? Naturally not, and he laughed; well, then it was the same with them. Such things took place tacitly, by implicit understanding, and with tact, not in accordance with a pre-arranged programme.

My investigations as to the possibility of jealousy affecting the relations between the husbands of a polyandrous Ladaki family led to the 595 same results as in Lahul. I was told that nobody could afford to be 518 jealous, that it was a luxury in which those who were rich enough to 152 divide up property in other, less austere environments than theirs, could [184] indulge. The Reverend W. Asboe was of the opinion that the ordinary average Ladaki was "not very passionate" as he put it, and that for this reason, they could not really feel the pangs of jealousy. He attributed this lack of passion to the altitude and to the climate which was so cold, and as proof of his allegation, he said that the Moslems, who elsewhere were so fiery about sexual matters and men's honour in these things, were also devoid of passion in Ladak, and often accepted situations there which they would have violently rebelled against elsewhere. No-

Ladak

595 body denied, nevertheless, that jealousy was there, ever-present, under
578 the surface. All they said was that it is kept in check by the necessity
152 of the polyandrous system, which in turn is the result of the dearth of
resources which consequently should themselves be shared in so bleak
an environment.

844 The education of the children in a polyandrous household was the
next point which I took up. At birth, I heard, there was no midwifery,
mothers usually going to the assistance of their daughters and rendering
them the necessary service. After that, it was the mother who naturally
854 looked after the baby in its early infancy, often suckling it for a pro-
[853] tracted period of from one to three years, depending on subsequent
pregnancies. Sometimes, a woman would be assisted in the care of the
child by one of her own sisters from outside – either from the house of
her parents or from the house she had been married into in *bag-ma*.
863 Asked what were the rules of cleanliness taught early to a baby, I
was told that there were none. Children were left to do absolutely
whatever they liked in this respect, and put outside the house to play
in the lanes and fields with other children, without any constraint being
imposed upon them. Of course, if they dirtied the house, they were
scolded and driven outside, but beyond that attitude, the mother never
attempted to control them in such matters at all. (This might actually
514 account for the extraordinary freedom of Tibetans everywhere within
123 their cultural area in what concerns evacuatory functions; both men and
women seem to have no shame at all in performing on the streets in
public and before everybody's gaze. They will also follow Europeans
who try to retire in privacy, to see "how they do it" – one of the most
embarrassing things about field-work in Tibet.)

857 Children take to playing very early in the lanes and fields. They
make castles of mud and water, and nothing seems to amuse them more
during their first years. They then go over to more sophisticated games
such as hockey, riding on sticks, playing at being a family, at cultivating
the fields with small, imitation hoes, at being bride and bridegroom at
a wedding festival. Dolls are made for the girls out of rags, and the
boys go about with little axes made of wood. But they seem to tire of
such games at times, and often go back to making mud and water pies
and constructions.

595 It is at this stage that paternal authority makes itself felt. I asked
855 who was the father who took over control, expecting it to be the eldest,
as he is regarded as the head of the family. But I was told that this
was not so, and that it was the father who was the most influential who

imposed himself. He did not do so with any severity, however, as parents 595
are usually "afraid of their children", fearing that if they are too 855
strict, they will not be well treated by them later, when they themselves
have to go into the *k'hang-gu*.

I enquired who it was who gave the children their sex education. 864
The answer was that nobody did. Parents are forbidden by custom to
speak to them of such things, and they have to pick up what they can
learn from playmates. Another source of information was watching
animals, it seemed, and everyone agreed that they *may* learn something
from witnessing their parents' behaviour during the long winter nights
in the *Jan-sa*. Anyhow, they "somehow" knew about sex by the time
they were approximately six years of age.

Sexual games between children, as well as masturbation, were very
severely punished if discovered by the parents. The father would beat
a child caught playing with itself or attempting coitus with another [861]
child. Mothers, it seemed, did not beat, but pinched instead, and this
could be made very unpleasant for the victim. It was impressed upon
me that if a child was a favourite, it might be dealt with more leniently, [858]
and that no attempt to deal out punishment equally was made.

In very small children, masturbation was repressed by attempts to 864
frighten the child. It would be told by its mother that a sort of witch 861
called a *baghzi* (a Hindu name?) would come and either carry the child [754]
away, or cut off its ears and put them in a leather bag which the creature
carried expressly for the purpose of collecting the ears of bad
children. No threat was ever made that the genital organs of the child
would be cut off, and the idea that this might be said seemed utterly
fantastic to my informants. As a sign of the times, I heard that children
were also threatened with being carried off by Tungan robbers (these [563]
were Chinese Moslems from Sinkiang who, in 1938, had just been
chased out of Turkestan by Soviet troops, and had escaped Southwards,
over the Karakorum pass; they stayed in Leh for some time before being
repatriated by sea to China by the Government of India).

When children were between six and seven years old, their formal 872
education began. They were taught to read and write Tibetan by qualified
teachers, usually lamas, for about one year. Most of the teaching
consisted in getting the pupil to learn long texts by heart and reciting
them, in the very early morning. Corporal punishment was administered [876]
if the lesson was not learned properly. When the year was up, more
practical things were taught, such as agriculture and the traditional [868]
ways in which crops are grown in Ladak. Pastoral duties were also inculcated
into future herdsmen at this time, while others
learned a trade.

559 culcated into future herdsmen at this time, while others learned a trade.

877 792 Those children who were put in monasteries, either boys or girls, were usually sent there at the respective ages of eight and fourteen. The boys became lamas and were put through a very severe period of probation. They were attached to a master whom they had to serve completely, as if they were his body-servant. [876) Frequent corporal punishment was meted out to them and this was quite usual – in fact it was a perfectly correct thing to do, and many jokes had to do with the way in which a master gave his pupil a correction with a whip, on the slightest pretext, when he felt that he had not been attentive to his merest whim. In nunneries, very much the same happened, except that relations between elders and probationers were not so acute. A girl was usually trained by a *jetsün-ma* (*rJe-bTsun-ma*), or senior nun, before becoming a *cho-mo (Jo-mo)* or ordinary nun, and the relation between the two women was of a much less brutal nature.

● 595 428 (iii) *Reasons given for the existence of polyandry in Ladak*

The consensus of opinion among the informants in the various polyandrous households that I visited about why they followed this particular type of matrimonial custom, was that it was the only way to avoid dividing up the property and thus being impoverished in a bleak and arid land. I was also told, as a secondary reason, that it enabled a household to obtain the sufficient labour that it needed to cultivate the fields; where many brothers inherited the property jointly, and took one wife in common, they could easily cope with the work to be done, as there were enough hands to do it.

595 Only once did I hear that there might be yet another reason beyond these for which polyandry was followed by the Buddhist Ladakis of Tibetan affinity. It was on the 30th September 1938, near Ridzong, when we met a bandit from Tibet proper, called Norgyäs. He told me that polyandry was practised by Tibetans so as to avoid the wives of the brothers quarrelling. Peace in the house, according to him, could only be obtained if there was only one wife in the family.

595 114 The Reverend Walter Asboe was of the opinion that it was a blessing that polyandry existed among the Buddhists. In so poor and difficult an environment, he said, another matrimonial system would probably only lead either to strife over the obtention of food, or to widespread famine. In this, he was only echoing what previous Moravian missionaries as well as many authors have said when speaking or writing about the customs of the people in Ladak.

Ladak

A. Wilson, in *The Abode of Snow* (see Bibliography), says: "I was a little surprised to find that one of the Moravian missionaries defended the polyandry of the Tibetans, not as a thing to be approved of in the abstract and tolerated among Christians, but as good for the heathen of so sterile a country. In taking this view, he proceeded on the argument that superabundant population, in an unfertile country, must be a great calamity, and produce 'eternal warfare or eternal want'." (p. 647). 595 ● 114

Captain H. L. Ramsay, in his *Western Tibet* (see Bibliography), goes even further and states that "it would be a misfortune if, with the introduction of Christianity, monogamy was introduced (in Ladak)". To this, the Reverend A. H. Francke, also of the Moravian Mission, writing in 1907, has to say that before Christianity came to Ladak, Mohammedanism was already there, and it is to the Moslems that we must look, before anything else, for change in matrimonial customs. In his opinion, polyandry is a disgusting practice which cannot be defended, and which should be replaced by a more ethical form of matrimony. The *Code of Tribal Custom of the Ladakh Tehsil* (see Bibliography) agrees with him in this, and, while stating that polyandry has obvious economic reasons for its existence, also maintains that it darkens the picture from a moral point of view and should not be allowed to continue.

In an article published in the Sunday Amrita Bazaar Patrika, a Calcutta newspaper, on March 16th 1952, and entitled "Poverty, Mass Ignorance and Social Evils in Ladakh", the special correspondent of the paper in Kashmir expresses the very current Indian opinion that "Two social evils, ugly and venomous, are eating into the vitals of Ladakh Buddhists. One is the custom of polyandry . . . the other the very common use of *chang* (beer)." He goes on to say, in the most significant passage of the article: "The supposed aim of polyandry, to keep the population within narrow limits, can only be reached if a number of women are ready to remain single. But this is not easy to achieve in any society and the result is immorality. From conditions obtaining in the country, I am forced to believe that polyandry has undermined the powers of increase of the people." For him, the only way to do away with the evil is to improve conditions in the land so that "the development of resources of the district bring enough wealth and strong public opinion" against polyandry.

(iv) *Other relevant information*

Enquiries about the kinship system in Ladak which I made, led me to observe that it was in every way a Western Tibetan one, identical terms 601 184

614 [171] which I collected later, in Kalimpong, about Central Tibet – the *rü* does not carry with it such obligations between its members. It seems to be confined to the single function of prohibiting marriage within its fold. It is only an exogamous unit and not an association for mutual assistance.

[114] In *East and West* (see Bibliography) I published a complete list of thirty five *p'haspuns* of Ladak, involving eighty six families, whose names, meaning of appellation, name of *lha*, and remarks on each of them, I have given simultaneously. Readers are referred to this article for the information, which I endeavoured to make as exhaustive as possible.

614 582 Regarding the question of the exogamy of the *p'haspuns* of Ladak, I was told by Nono Tse-P'hün as well as by his father-in-law, Joseph Gergan, that no one paid the slightest attention any longer to rules forbidding marriage within the *p'haspun*. As long as people were "not related", as they put it, (meaning, no doubt, not immediately related by ties of close family kinship), marriage was possible between members of families constituting a same *p'haspun*. The latter were really only inter-assistance organizations, they said, and had nothing to do with marriage rules any longer.

Ordinary folk from Ladak, however, from Leh and from its surroundings, whom I met on my visits to polyandrous households, and later, in Kalimpong, when they were on their way to or from Lhasa on pilgrimage, assured me that one should marry only outside the *p'haspun* to which one belonged. They all said that, as far as they were concerned, they would not think of doing otherwise.

614 582 565 184 178 The explanation of such divergent views must surely be, then, that probably these vary with the class to which a man belongs, and to which my informants belonged. The wealthier and more educated people, such as Joseph Gergan and his son-in-law, no longer consider it necessary to heed the ancient exogamous rules of the *p'haspun*. They have outgrown them, have become modern, and such rules appear meaningless to them. But the peasant population of Ladak, by nature very conservative and certainly much less discerning, still adhere strictly to the rules, although they do so quite instinctively as the "right" thing to do, and would be completely at a loss if they had to give the reason for their action.

595 614 582 842 I asked Joseph Gergan on one occasion (actually by letter to which I received a reply on the 27th December 1938) if a *porjag* could be of the same *p'haspun* as the common wife, or if he should be of the

595 same as the first husbands. His answer was that he should preferably
614 be of another *p'haspun* than the common wife (the rule of exogamy
582 playing here) but that there was no objection to him being of the same
842 one as the husbands, although it was not compulsory. He remarked that
such an extra man brought in to sire children in a barren union was generally younger than the men to whom the woman was married earlier.

614 Within each Ladaki *p'haspun* there exist rules of death and birth
765 pollution which are observed for varying periods of time according to
783 the *p'haspun*. I have given the length of the period in each case (vary-
ing from one week to one month) in the publication mentioned above
846 about the *p'haspuns*. The essence of this ritualistic observation is that
[264] people of the same *p'haspun* may not eat together for the stipulated
[789] period of time when they are either *Bangak* (*Bang-Ngag-la aDzem-ches*,
"to shrink from speaking to a parturient woman") in the case of birth pollution, or *Rongag* (*Ro-Ngag-la aDzem-ches*, "to shrink from speaking to a dead body") if it is death pollution that makes them ritually unclean.

614 During the period of birth pollution, extra to not eating with mem-
846 bers of one's *p'haspun*, parents may not go into the fields, must have
264 nothing to do with agriculture if the event take place during a period
783 of ploughing, sowing or harvesting, and may not jump over any irri-
789 gating water channel in the fields, for the whole period of time. The
mother particularly, is not allowed to touch any of the eating utensils,
[241] the fire-place, or other people's food. Before the return to normal can take place for all these people, a *lhabsang* (*lHa-bSang*) or "god-clean" ceremony has to occur at the home of the afflicted. It is conducted by a lama who reads the scriptures (prayers which my notes call *lha-bSag*) while he beats cymbals and a drum. He is offered tea in the customary fashion.

614 Another period of ritual uncleanliness with Ladakis is that which
783 follows the death of a wife or a husband. When one of the latter dies,
765 the wife is *yuksamo* (*Yugs-sa-mo*) or polluted for a duration of time
varying in accordance with circumstances, whether it is the eldest or a younger spouse who has died, and also with respect to different parts
[264] of Ladak. During this time, the widow will cover herself with a black piece of clothing, sit in some dark recess of the house, and have her food cooked and served to her in separate dishes from the rest of the family. She, too, is restored to normality again when her relations come, bringing a lama with them, and perform a *lhabsang* ceremony of purification.

158 and deafness for certain periods of time. He attributed this to devils
753 which possessed the individual concerned, and he, personally, tried to
cure them by cauterization of the head. If this did not help, the patients
755 were advised to visit the lamas, who gave the religious formulas to eat,
or carried out exorcisms over them. Chonde showed me his cauterization
instruments and a chart which guided him as to where to apply
the red-hot irons.

115 The Reverend Walter Asboe, whose Moravian Mission ran a small
943 dispensary and hospital in the Mission House in Leh, was also informative
about nervous ailments in the town. He said that men did come
164 to be cured of impotence, but that they were nearly all physical cases
833 and definitely not mental ones. As it was, it was not living in polyandry
548 which made them impotent, for if the common wife was not to their
595 liking, they could always seek relief with some of the numerous prostitutes
795 that were to be found in Leh. All of these professionals, he said,
were Moslems, not Buddhists, and were usually recruited from among
the temporary wives, converted to Mohammedanism by the Yarkandi
traders, surplus women left over by the polyandry of the Buddhist
Ladakis.

158 The Reverend Asboe had come across no cases of frigidity in women,
795 but, on the contrary, he knew of many cases of nymphomania. Again,
833 this affliction was to be found among the Moslem women converts,
never among the polyandrous wives of the Buddhist households. He
838 had also heard that homosexuality was prevalent in the monasteries,
792 and since, he said, Jaeschke's *Tibetan-English Dictionary* contained all
the numerous Tibetan terms for various sexual perversions, it seemed
from this that these were widespread throughout Ladak.

115 Nono Tse-P'hün, as my principal interpreter and informant, was of
an opposite opinion. He said that homosexuality was a punishable offence
in Kashmiri law, and therefore did not exist in Ladak. It was
looked upon with great disfavour anyhow, by the Ladakis, and he felt
sure that no one indulged in it, not even in the monasteries. In Tibet,
it was another matter, he added, and it was known that it was practised
in the large monasteries of Central Tibet, as any monk returning from
Lhasa or Shigatse where he had gone for his studies could tell.

296 With regard to prostitution, this is the place perhaps, to mention
171 what Joseph Gergan once told me about the smoking of tobacco. I had
asked him on the 14th October 1938, in Kargil, as we were travelling
together towards the Kashmir capital, Srinagar, how it was that in the
whole of Tibet and in areas under the cultural influence of that country,

WT T 572 837 [115] one of them is married, or gets married later, it is agreed that the friends will also share the wife. When Don-chen-la died, Norgyäs was left alone with their common spouse, and he came to Ladak with her.

I asked the informant if he knew of cases of exchange of wives, in which married men had simply taken each other's wives, as I had heard of this before I visited Ladak, but had not been able to find any actual cases. He told me that this did happen, precisely between people who were *skyidug-chik-pa*. If they both married, they would exchange the women after some time, to show that they really did have everything in common, and then later revert back to those they originally had. Thus, he knew of a certain Changling Cholak and a *Dzong-pön* (*Dzong-dPon*) or magistrate, called Nichang(?), who were linked by such a "happiness-grief-identical" relation in Lhasa. They exchanged their wives in this manner, even after they had had children with them. The offspring did not, however, follow the mother, but remained with the father (presumably until the mother returned home again after some years).

WT T 837 Norgyäs assured me, too, that wives were often offered to important guests when they visited a family, although the custom was declining. Joseph insisted that this did not exist in Ladak, and that he had never come across it there. Norgyäs, however, said that he knew of Ladaki cases of such hospitality too, and Joseph said that it must, then, be close to the Chang-t'hang borders. The bandit admitted that this was so, in the neighbourhood of lake Pang-kong, in the extreme east.

WT 2. *Polyandrous families at Kalatse and Mulbek*

595 601 WT [115] WT [591] On the 4th October 1938 at Kalatse, Joseph Gergan took me to a household named Gyamtso-pa, where there was a *porjag*, that is, where non-fraternal polyandry was practised. I made the genealogy of this family, and it is given in Table 35. The informant was Lha-dzom, a woman, about thirty five years old, with a lively manner, who seemed very pleased to give us all the details which we wished to learn from her. She and her two husbands, Tsering and Tsering P'hüntzok, together with her two children, Sonam Lhamo, a girl, and Kumchok Rabsang, a boy, lived in a *k'hang-chen*, while her first husband's father and mother lived in the *k'hang-gu*. Tsering's two sisters, who were older than him, had been married off in *bag-ma* to other households. The two children born to Tsering and Lha-dzom were as yet unmarried, although quite grown-up, and lived with their parents and their mother's second husband, Tsering P'hüntzok, the *porjag*.

[Text Continues on p. 390]

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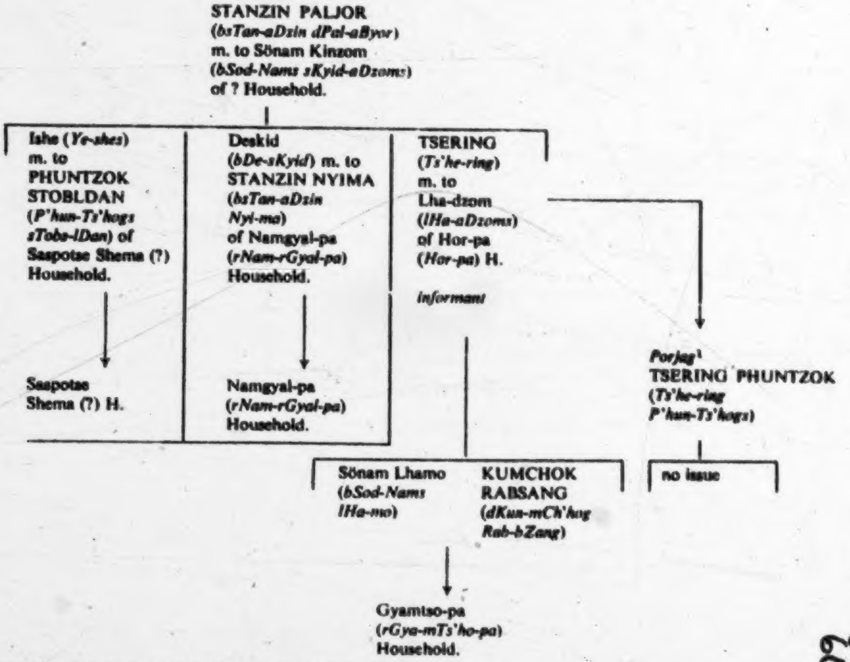
TABLE 35. GENEALOGY OF THE GYAMTSO-PA (*rGya-mTs'ho-pa*) HOUSEHOLD.


STANZIN PALJOR
(bsTan-aDzin dPal-aByor)
m. to Sönam Kinzom
(bSod-Nams sKyid-aDzoms)
of ? Household.
Ishe (Ye-shes) m. to PHUNTZOK STOBLDAN (P'hun-Ts'hogs sTobs-lDan) of Saspotse Shema (?) Household.
Saspotse Shema (?) H.
Deskid (bDe-sKyid) m. to STANZIN NYIMA (bsTan-aDzin Nyi-ma) of Namgyal-pa (rNam-rGyal-pa) Household.
Namgyal-pa (rNam-rGyal-pa) Household.
TSERING (Ts'he-ring) m. to Lha-dzom (lHa-aDzoms) of Hor-pa (Hor-pa) H.
informant
Porjag[1]
TSERING PHUNTZOK (Ts'he-ring P'hun-Ts'hogs)
no issue
Sönam Lhamo (bSod-Nams lHa-mo)
KUMCHOK RABSANG (dKun-mCh'hog Rab-bZang)
Gyamtso-pa (rGya-mTs'ho-pa) Household.

[1] Married after eighteen years of marriage to Tsering, three years ago in 1938.

Conventional signs as in Table 27.

595 I enquired from the informant why she had married a second husband in this way, considering that she had had children by her first one and that, consequently, it did not seem at all necessary for her to take so drastic a step. Her answer confirmed my belief that a second husband is often brought in in order to acquire more labour for the cultivation of the family plot, for she replied: "I married Tsering P'hüntzok because Tsering was old and unable to work very well any more." She then added the informative remark: "It is cheaper to take an extra husband than a servant."

Neighbours, whom Joseph and I questioned later about this family, assured us, nevertheless, that Lha-dzom had not spoken the truth to us. They scoffed at her statements that she needed more labour on her husband's estate, and said that she was a very ardent woman, whom old Tsering could no longer satisfy sexually. So she had taken Tsering P'hüntzok who was much younger (28 years old, they said), and Tsering had agreed to it because he was tired of his wife's sexual appetite anyway. I must say that in my interview with the woman, I did form the impression that there probably was some truth in the neighbour's gossip. It did not mean, however, that what Lha-dzom had told us was not true; both pronouncements could be correct, for having a new husband, while very pleasant from the matrimonial point of view, was also useful in what concerned the cultivation of the fields. Pleasure and business thus appeared admirably combined in Lha-dzom's case, and Tsering, who could have objected and might have been the major obstacle, made no trouble and accepted the situation. He probably got something out of it, too.

834 124 595 I had heard so much about these people's sexual life during these interviews, that it came as a surprise to me when I asked Joseph to enquire if anybody knew anything about father and son polyandry in Kalatse and he refused to do so. We were in conversation with a female neighbour at the time, and Joseph flatly refused to enquire about the subject upon which I wanted information because, he said, it is not possible to question a woman about sexual matters in Tibet if she is either younger or older than yourself. The same applied to close relatives, and the prohibition was called *ka-dzem-ches* (*K'ha-aDzem-Ches*) meaning "mouth to shrink from". What we had been told about Lha-dzom did not come under the category of questioning the woman on sexual affairs, it seemed, since she had volunteered the information which we had heard. What was not possible, I gathered, was for Joseph to put queries about sex to the woman. So I was not able to get the

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 392]

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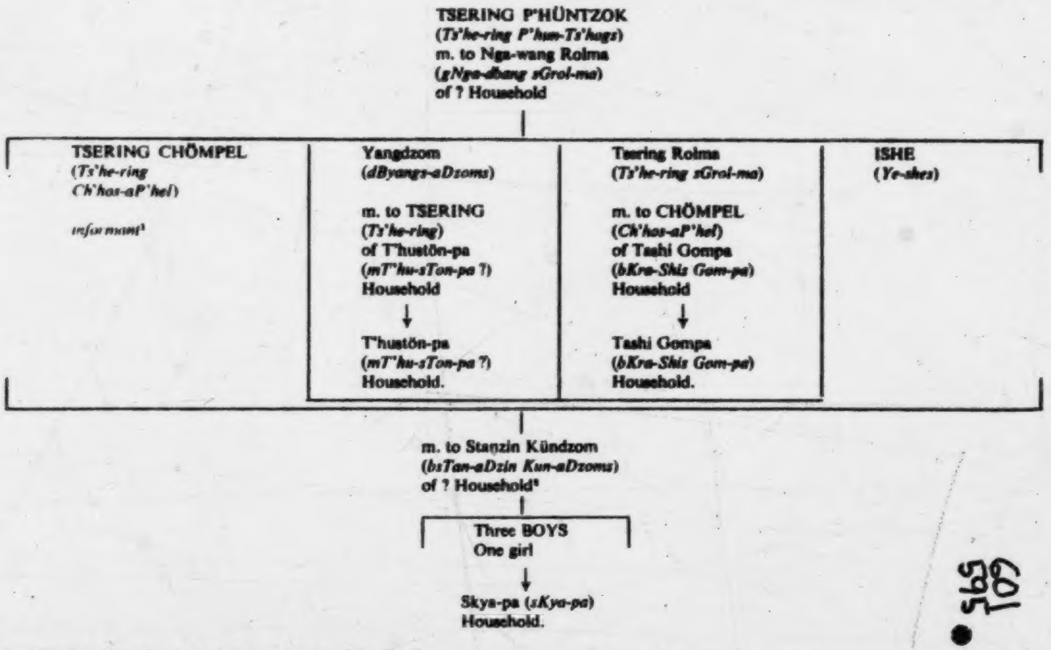
TABLE 36. GENEALOGY OF SKYA-PA (*sKya-pa*) HOUSEHOLD.


TSERING P'HÜNTZOK
(*Ts'he-ring P'hun-Ts'hogs*)
m. to Nga-wang Rolma
(*gNga-dbang sGrol-ma*)
of ? Household
TSERING CHÖMPEL
(*Ts'he-ring Ch'hos-aP'hel*)
informant[1]
Yangdzom
(*dByangs-aDzoms*)
m. to TSERING
(*Ts'he-ring*)
of T'hustön-pa
(*mT'hu-sTon-pa* ?)
Household
T'hustön-pa
(*mT'hu-sTon-pa* ?)
Household.
Tsering Rolma
(*Ts'he-ring sGrol-ma*)
m. to CHÖMPEL
(*Ch'hos-aP'hel*)
of Tashi Gompa
(*bKra-Shis Gom-pa*)
Household
Tashi Gompa
(*bKra-Shis Gom-pa*)
Household.
ISHE
(*Ye-shes*)
m. to Stanzin Kündzom
(*bsTan-aDzin Kun-aDzoms*)
of ? Household[2]
Three BOYS
One girl
Skya-pa (*sKya-pa*)
Household.

[1] Officially the only one married, and head of the family.

[2] She said that she would only speak if I paid her.

Conventional signs as in Table 27.

124 information that I wanted on the subject of fathers and sons sharing
● 595 a wife in Kalatse.

[834] Four days later, on the 8th October 1938, we were in Mulbek, the last village where people of Tibetan cultural affinity are to be found on the way westwards. Here, too, I discovered polyandrous families, and interviewed them through Joseph, but with some difficulty. It appeared [177] that we had now reached a frontier area, one in which culture contact with non-polyandrous people existed and, as is usual in such a case, those practising polyandry were self-conscious about the custom and reluctant to speak about it to strangers. The first of two genealogies which I was able, nevertheless, to take down, is given in Table 36.

We went to this household, called Skya-pa, because a Moslem whom Joseph knew in the bazaar had told us that we would find a *porjag* in it. In the neighbourhood of the house we were, however, stopped by its inmates, who refused to let us approach it. They were a surly lot, the women wearing a sort of diminutive *perak* (*berag*) on their forehead and no woollen ears any longer, the men dressed in the usual Ladaki clothes. They seemed very reluctant even to speak to us, and Joseph had the greatest difficulty in getting anything out of them. They said that we could not go to the house because it was dirty, and only with the worst possible grace, condescended to speak to us where we stood, in the lane leading to their home.

595 601 [115] [591] A man called Tsering Chömpel was our informant. He told us that his parents, Tsering P'hüntzok his father, and Ngawang Rolma his mother, lived in the *k'hang-gu*, while he with his wife, their four children and his younger brother, Ishe, lived in the *k'hang-chen*. He told us, too, that his two sisters, Yangdzom and Tsering Rolma, were married out in *bag-ma* to other households, respectively to Tsering of T'hustönpa household, and Chömpel of Tashi Gompa household.

595 Asked if these two households were polyandrous, he said no, that they were not. Pressed, he added that polyandry was not practised in Mulbek, and that he himself did not share his wife, Stanzin Kündzom, with Ishe. This was denied later by Joseph, who told me that from friends of his in Mulbek, he knew that polyandry existed there just as much as in the rest of Ladak, but that the people did not like to admit it, were shy to do so, and even somewhat ashamed. When I asked about the rumoured *porjag* said to exist there, needless to say, this was hotly denied. We were asked what our source of information was, which we naturally refused to divulge. Whereupon Tsering Chömpel said to Joseph that his family was being slandered.

Stanzin Kündzom refused to speak during the whole interview. I 595 ●
tried to draw her out at the beginning, but she made it perfectly clear 124
at once that she would only say something if I paid her then and there. Not wishing to do this for fear of setting a bad example and creating a precedent, we carried on with her husband who was somewhat more accommodating, and eventually gave him a monetary reward when we had finished, for which he expressed his thanks.

That same morning, Joseph and I went on to another polyandrous family of Mulbek, called *Yoktso-pa* (*gYog-Ts'hogs-pa*) (Table 37). These people, who appeared to be as poor and as suspicious of us as the others but were slightly more accommodating in that they did admit to being polyandrous, [591] lived in a *k'hang-gu* in which there were two brothers married to one wife, and in a *k'hang-chen,* the inhabitants of which were the two sons of the former and their common wife, young people who had only recently been married and did not yet have any children.

Tsewang, the eldest of the older generation, acted as the informant, 595
but his brother, Tsewang Paljor, and their common wife, Nordzom 601
Rolma, assisted him greatly. These people told us that their parents, [115]
Paljor their father, and Skidzom their mother, had died some years ago, and that they were consequently occupying the *k'hang-gu* now themselves, since the marriage of their grown-up children. Their eldest sister, Tseten, was married away in *bag-ma* to three brothers in a household called Alea-pa, while the second sister, also elder to them, Chosang
Rolma, was a nun. This woman was present at the interview, and we 792
heard that she was normally resident at Himis gompa, but that she 782
often came home on visits. She had no particular inclination to be a 595
nun, it seemed, since she had been sent to the monastery by her parents 601
when, as a child, she had nearly died, and they had made a vow that if she recovered, they would dedicate her to Himis.

The informant and his brother, together with their common wife, 595
Nordzom Rolma, had had three children, two boys, Sonam Wangyal 601
and Tsewang Tashi, and one daughter, born between these two, called Tashi Pal-mo. The latter was married off to Tashi Sonam of Ṣhak-pa Household, while the two boys had a wife in common, whom they had married recently. Her name was Tashi Kidzom, and they lived with her in the *k'hang-chen*, which they had just taken over. They had been married too short a time to have children yet, and that is all that the words "no issue" mean in the genealogical table.

It had not been too difficult here, to find out that these people were [792]

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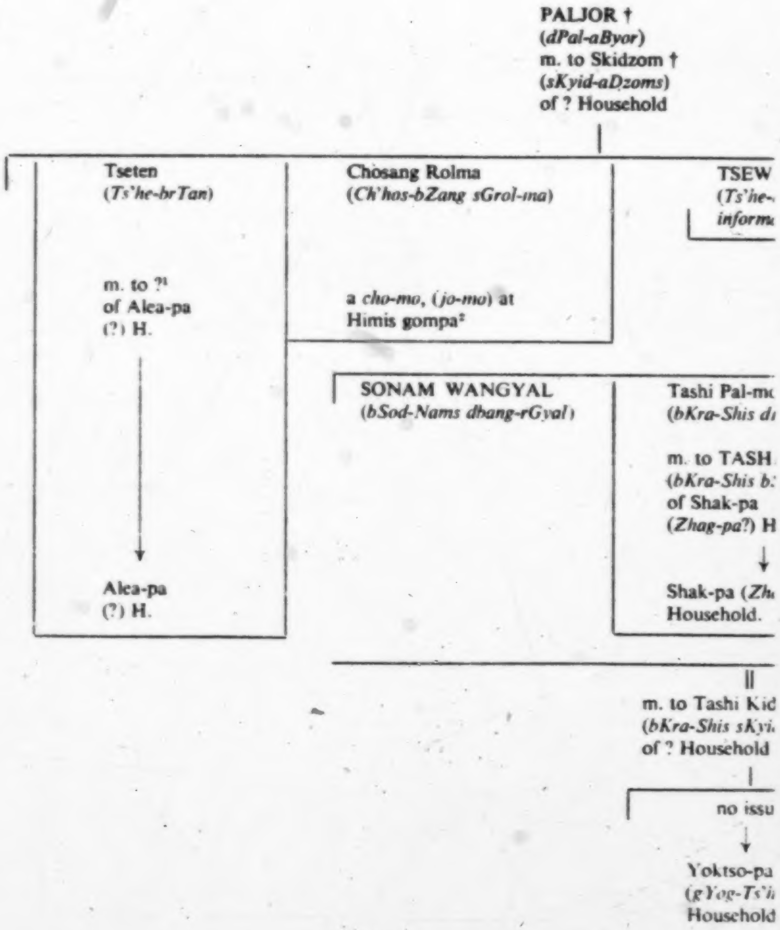
TABLE 37. GENEALOGY OF YOKTSO-PA (*gYog-Ts'h*


PALJOR †
(*dPal-aByor*)
m. to Skidzom †
(*sKyid-aDzoms*)
of ? Household
Tseten
(*Ts'he-brTan*)
m. to ?[1]
of Alea-pa
(?) H.
Alea-pa
(?) H.
Chosang Rolma
(*Ch'hos-bZang sGrol-ma*)
a *cho-mo*, (*jo-mo*) at
Himis gompa[2]
TSEW
(*Ts'he-*
inform
SONAM WANGYAL
(*bSod-Nams dbang-rGyal*)
Tashi Pal-m
(*bKra-Shis d*
m. to TASH
(*bKra-Shis b*
of Shak-pa
(*Zhag-pa?*) H
Shak-pa (*Zh*
Household.
m. to Tashi Kid
(*bKra-Shis sKyi*
of ? Household
no issu
Yoktso-pa
(*gYog-Ts'h*
Household

---

[1] Married to three brothers, names unknown.

[2] She nearly died as a child and was dedicated to the monastery if she survived.

[3] A lama, whose existence was kept secret from me; being of the un-reformed, Red-hat se brothers with them.

Conventional signs as in Table 27.

[facing p. 393-A]

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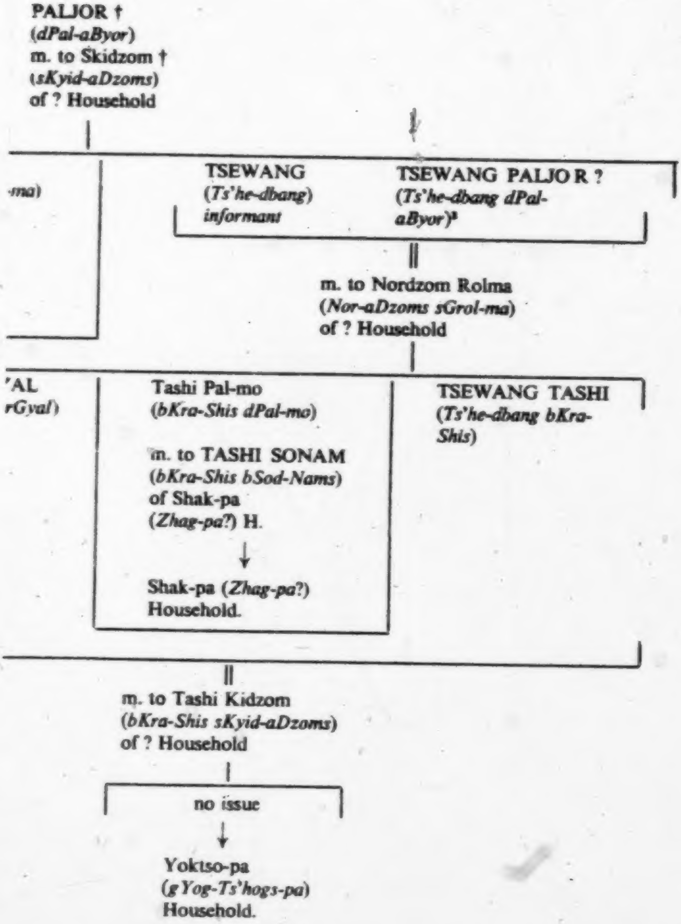
YOKTSO-PA (*gYog-Ts'hogs-pa*) HOUSEHOLD.


PALJOR †
(dPal-aByor)
m. to Skidzom †
(sKyid-aDzoms)
of ? Household
-ma)
TSEWANG
(Ts'he-dbang)
informant
TSEWANG PALJOR ?
(Ts'he-dbang dPal-aByor)
m. to Nordzom Rolma
(Nor-aDzoms sGrol-ma)
of ? Household
'AL
rGyal)
Tashi Pal-mo
(bKra-Shis dPal-mo)
m. to TASHI SONAM
(bKra-Shis bSod-Nams)
of Shak-pa
(Zhag-pa?) H.
Shak-pa (Zhag-pa?)
Household.
TSEWANG TASHI
(Ts'he-dbang bKra-Shis)
m. to Tashi Kidzom
(bKra-Shis sKyid-aDzoms)
of ? Household
no issue
Yoktso-pa
(gYog-Ts'hogs-pa)
Household.

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tery if she survived.
f the un-reformed, Red-hat sect *Nyingma-pa*, he shared the common wife of his

[facing P. 393-B]

595 601 792 polyandrous, thus giving the lie to those of Skya-pa household who said that no one was polyandrous in Mulbek. But, all the same, the Yoktso-pa family did hide something from me, which I would never have heard about had it not been for Joseph Gergan. As we were returning to our camp, he mentioned to me that he knew that Tsewang and Tsewang Paljor shared their wife, Nordzom Rolma, with yet another brother of theirs, who was a Red-hat, unreformed *Nying ma-pa* sect lama. And as we passed down the street away from the household we had just visited, I noticed a monk, clad in the usual red clothes, coming out of a house close-by, and immediately entering another one, as if he did not wish to be seen by us. Joseph pointed him out to me, and told me that this was the man. He lived in the local monastery in the town, and was maintained by it; but he had not given up his share of the family property when he left, and he was still closely associated with his brothers. Not being obliged by the rules of his order to observe celibacy, he shared the common wife, Nordzom Rolma, with them. It was remarkable how the family had not wished to let us know this, and had even witheld mentioning the existence of the lama brother. Joseph did not know his name, so that I was unable to put it down in the genealogy. He was younger than the two other men, and I have consequently shown him after them for this reason.

595 177 847 During the day, investigating the rumour and counter rumour concerning a *porjag* in the Skya-pa household, I heard that no such an institution existed west of the P'hoto-la, the last pass which we had crossed before reaching Mulbek. Asked why this was so, Joseph was told in the village that it was because it was an immoral practice which should not be encouraged. Once again, this appeared to me to be an indication of the effects of culture contact, the people in this frontier area being ashamed of the custom of calling a man in when they had failed to have issue with a woman's other husbands, as is the practice further east in Ladak. The Moslems, however, insisted that *porjags* existed in secret, and assured us that the Buddhists who denied this were not telling the truth.

PART II

000 *THE POLYANDRY OF THE TIBETANS OF TIBET PROPER*

In Appendix 1, will be found the account of how we went from Kashmir to Kalimpong in Bengal for the first time in 1938, and returned

T 595 114 [184] during all my field work, both before and after World War II, with data and recorded facts which now make it possible for me to affirm without any hesitation that polyandry between father and sons is practised in Tibet, particularly in the two central provinces of U and Tsang, where it is most widespread. The following is the history of the progress of my investigation, which started with the collection of information from those who knew about the custom and ended with my actually meeting cases and interviewing them to find out how the arrangement functions.

T WT 595 I began in Lahul. It will be recalled that when I visited that valley, on the 21st of June, 1938, Thakur Partap Chand took me to see a polyandrous family in a house called Barun-pa (see above page 312–312). I took advantage of the cordiality which the Wazir of Lahul showed towards me to question him on the subject of the polyandry of fathers and sons about which I had heard from Dr. Kanshi Ram.

The informant immediately confirmed its existence and said that it was common knowledge, even in his part of the world, that, in Central Tibet, fathers and sons share a common wife in the same family, although the woman in this case must never be the mother of the boys. WT [186] Nevertheless in Lahul the custom appeared rather strange and even repulsive, and it was quite usual for Tibetans from Tibet proper to be laughed at for this form of matrimony by the local inhabitants. They were accused of being "step-mother sharing people" which was meant as an insult. WT [525] [777] But at the same time, when playing dice, it was the custom to evoke such a shared step-mother as a means of bringing good luck to the thrower. When a seven was wanted, for instance, a special formula evoking the step-mother shared by both fathers and sons was repeated several times.

WT 595 Another confirmation of the true existence of polyandry between fathers and sons in Tibet was obtained from the Reverend F. A. Peter of the Moravian Mission in Kye-lang on the 24th of June, 1938. He told me that the institution existed when the Mission was established in Lahul in 1854 as ancient records showed. At the time that his father, the late Bishop Peter, was appointed to the Lahuli capital in 1898, there were still some cases of this special form of polyandry to be found in the valley. The Reverend Peter said that he had heard that it had not yet died out in Spiti, although it was difficult to make sure because the local people kept it secret and unavowed. WT [191] [428] (As far as I know, polyandry in general is not officially practised in Spiti, the surplus males of a family becoming monks while the eldest alone inherits the family property. A certain amount of clandestine polyan-

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dry is, however, reported to exist, and it would indeed be surprising if it were not so in an area of such close cultural affinity to Tibet. The special fathers and sons polyandry is therefore probably not carried on in any greater secrecy than ordinary polyandry.)

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Having got this far in confirming what Dr. Kanshi Ram had told me existed in Tibet proper, I enquired from Lobsang what he knew on the subject. He was a native of the Tsang province, and for this reason I expected him to be well-informed. I was not to be disappointed.

On the 6th of July, 1938, he told me that, of course, such a custom was widely practised in the part of Tibet from which he came. It was so, too, in the neighbouring regions. While he said that he knew of cases in Tsang and in Rudok and Gartok of the Tö province, he insisted that it was to be found sporadically all over "untouched Tibet" (he presumably meant by that those parts of Tibet which had been least of all influenced from outside). In his own home town, Yang-Chu-Tangha(?) in Tsang, situated eight days south from Shigatse, there were four families in which the wife was common to fathers and sons. Not only sedentary agriculturalists lived in this way, but nomads too, he told me.

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For the first time, I heard from Lobsang that a woman thus shared by two generations was called a *Cham-ma-dung* (for the correct spelling of this name, see below). According to him, the meanings of the words which compose this appellation are the following: *Cham* = wife, *ma* = mother and *dung* = beam. The whole significance is thus "wife-mother-beam", or the wife and mother who acts as a beam between fathers and sons.

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Lobsang added that such a woman was never the mother of the boys, but he was insistant that she should at least be a relative of the deceased parent, if she took the place of the latter and was not the sons' spouse whom the fathers now shared with them. Children would be officially considered as those of whoever had first married the common wife, the fathers or the sons. In this way, if the offspring were physiologically those of the younger generation, they would nevertheless be considered socially as the children of the older one should the fathers have been the first to take the woman to wife. If, on the contrary, the sons had married her first, any offspring was officially theirs, even if the natural parent happened to be one of the fathers. A child could thus quite feasibly be classified in kinship terms either as the brother or as the grandchild of its true procreator, according to whom was looked upon as its sociological parent.

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On the 6th of July, 1938, I questioned Lobsang further, through

24: Peter E-5 (1950-1957) 1963 AJ1 Tibet

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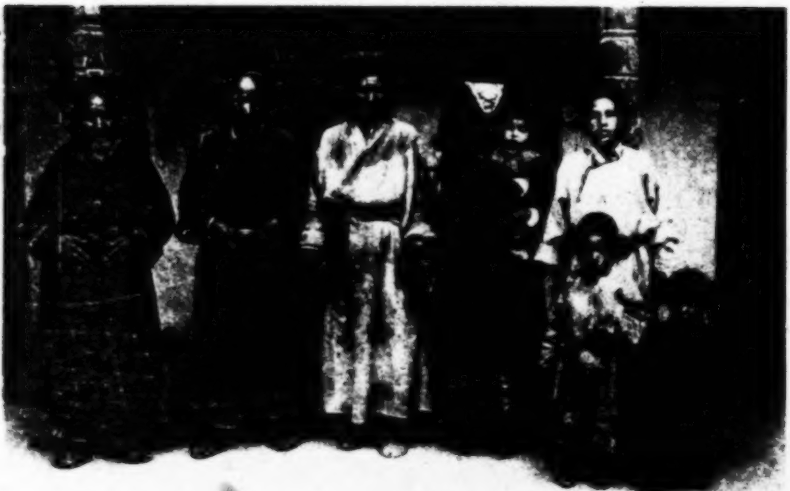

Fig. 37. The Tok-Tok family: left to right: Lobsang, Ishe Döndrup, Stobgyes, Chungnid, Sonam Döndrup, Gon-po. Chungnid is holding Dok-pa in her arms.

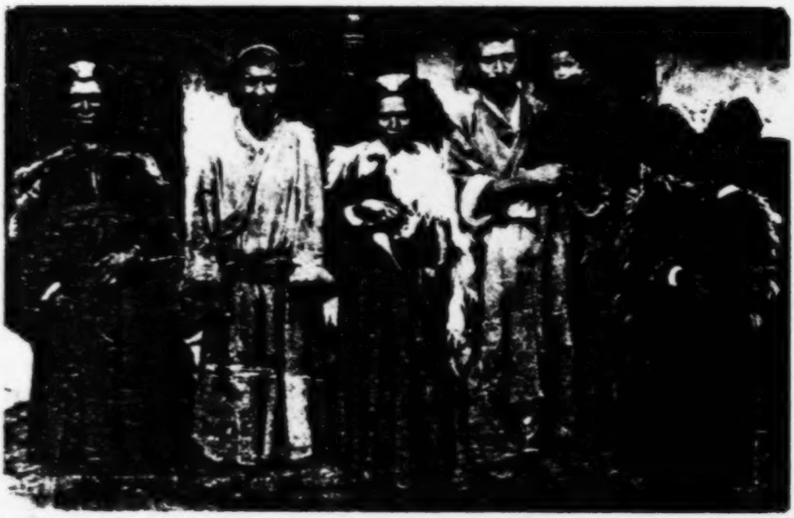

Fig. 38. The Old-ldan family: left to right: P'hüntzok, Kumchok, Putit, Sonam with Sonam Putit in his arms, and Tsewang Putit.

[P. 480-B]

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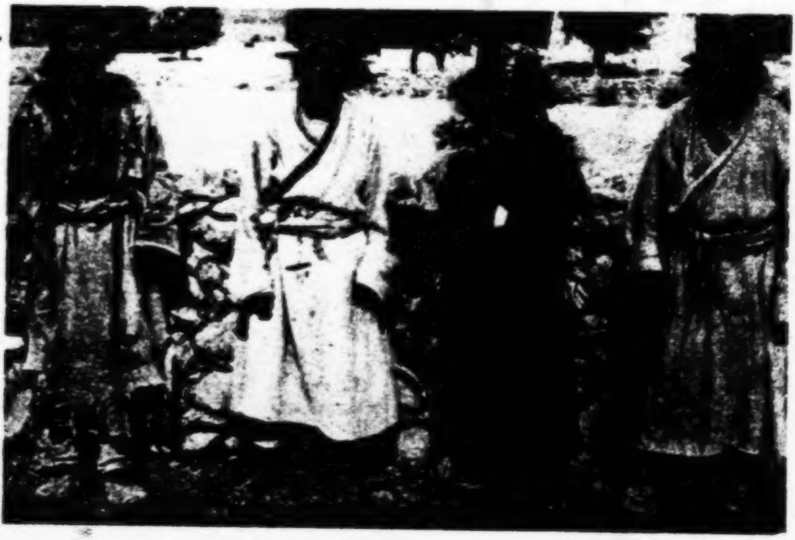

Fig. 41. The Bata section of the Tsong-k'har-pa family: left to right: Döndrup, Murup, Palkid, Ishe Paljor, the *porjag* of Shing-k'hang.

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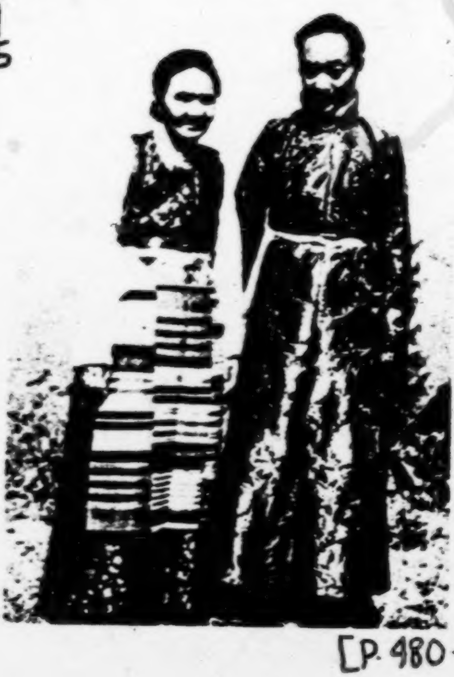

Fig. 42. Dorje Yöndron with her step-son and husband No. 2, Sönam Wang-chuk Dele Rabden Sä I, at Kalimpong.

[P. 480-D]

POSITION OF THE WOMEN.

562 462 To a native of India the complete social liberty of the women of Ladākh seems very strange. This liberty, I think it may be said, is as great as that of workmen's wives in England; not only do Lādakhī women go about unveiled, but also they mix where men frequent and enter with them into their pursuits of business or pleasure, and partake too of their toil. I have told what good weight-carriers the women are; in agriculture also they take their share of the work; when the seed is in, the tending of the fields—the watering and so on—is a great deal left to the women, the men perhaps having work abroad.

595 161 [565] Thus far we may think woman's position here to be better than in India, but what is next to tell darkens the picture. Polyandry, plurality of husbands, is, except among the few richer people, quite general; it is much more nearly universal than is polygamy in India, and for this reason, that polygamy is a custom itself expensive, practically reserved for the well-to-do, while polyandry is an economical arrangement, one established on the poverty of a barren country, and extending throughout the people as far as indigence itself does.

[167] There can be no doubt that the practice of polyandry in Ladākh originated from the smallness of the extent of land that could be tilled and the general inelasticity of the country's resources, while the isolation from the rest of the world—isolation of manners, language, and religion, as well as geographical isolation—hindered emigration. It was found impossible for the younger ones either to marry and settle or to go out for their [593] living. They naturally became mere helpers in the household—farm-servants to the elder brother. From that there came about the curious custom that when the elder brother marries a wife she becomes a wife to all the brothers. The younger brothers remain in a very subordinate position in the family, but the wife is held in common. The children recognize all as father, speaking of their elder and their younger fathers. As many as four brothers thus may become, and do become, husbands to the same wife; I

1; Drew /G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

believe there is no limit at all, but of as many as this I have known instances. 595 161

In addition to this form of polyandry, which, as I have shown, stands on economical grounds, there is, strange to say, liberty for the women to choose yet another husband from a different family, a stranger. I have known cases where there were two—and, if my recollection does not deceive me, three—brothers, husbands to a woman, yet she took a fourth husband from outside.

The effect of all this in keeping down the population of the country is very great. Not only are fewer families founded than would be otherwise, but the families are smaller. In spite of the restricted area of cultivation, which it would not be easy to extend, though possible in a few cases, and in spite of there being no importation of grain—except of a small quantity of rice, which is an expensive luxury—the population of Ladākh, though fairly well filled up, is not redundant. Each person has his own position in connection with the land, and it would be impossible to take many away without throwing some of it out of cultivation. [311] [439]

It seems to me that such a balance is preserved in this way:—The system of polyandry probably would have the effect, if it were fully carried out, of absolutely lessening the population. When it does positively act in that way, when from that cause some holdings of land are, so to say, going begging, then more of simple marriages take place. An heiress of a few acres, say, gets a single husband whom she brings home; or an only son has a wife all to himself. Then the natural increase of population recommences, and the balance is redressed.

I could get no satisfactory answer to the inquiry I made of many—what becomes of the surplus of women which must, one would think, be caused by the custom? I did not learn that there were many old maids, and the number of nuns is less than the number of young men that have been drafted off to become monks. It is possible that polyandry alters the proportion of sexes in the children born—lessens the number of females; but this is hypothetical; I could not get statistics to throw light on the subject. [589]

562 595 Among a rough people like the Bhots it is difficult to say what would naturally be the character of the women; that is, what it would be if they had the same liberty of ordinary social intercourse which they now possess, but held to the rule of one woman to one man. I incline to think that polyandry has a bad effect on their natures; that, beyond the openness which one admires, it makes them over-bold, shameless, and causes them to be in a general way coarser than their other circumstances need make them. And to the same custom I attribute the greater facileness, as compared with neighbouring countries, with which those connections with foreigners are formed that have resulted in so many varieties of half-castes at Leh.

CERTAIN CUSTOMS.

886 428 There is a rather curious custom of the father and mother of a grown-up family retiring from active life and its responsibilities at a time when they may not be much beyond middle-age. When the son is married and has a child then the time has come for the grandfather and grandmother to leave their home, to give up the house and the land to their son. They go into a very small house near, taking only one or two head of cattle, and retaining just enough land for themselves to attend to and raise grain from for their food. After this is done they have no more claim on the son, who becomes legal owner of the family property. There is often a house attached to a holding which is put to this very use. The amount of land to be given over is regulated by custom; this, on the death of the old people, comes back to the estate. If there be *two fathers* alive they are both got rid of and provided for in this way.

764 177 In the disposal of their dead the Bhots follow the Hindū custom of burning. But whereas the Hindūs seldom or never let twenty-four hours elapse between death and cremation, these Bhots keep the corpse for many days, feasting their friends round it; the higher in rank the deceased man was, the longer they keep him from the dissolution of fire.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

rise above 20,000 feet originate glaciers; there are small ones in 132
the hollows of several such peaks; but there is no great snowy 133
area. The surface of the hills is chiefly disintegrated rock, and
the surface of the valleys is earth or gravel. Vegetation is
extremely scant; here and there is some green by a spring or
along the moistened bank of a stream, and on some hill-sides is a
thin herbage. It is this herbage that is the support of the flocks [241]
and herds which sustain the small population of Rupshu. Culti- [231]
vation is carried on in two places only, and to a very small extent;
it is on their flocks that the people depend.

In the whole area of the district, which is about 4000 square 161
miles in extent, there are but 500 souls.* These, as will have 101
been understood, are Chāmpās; they are dwellers in tents, or, as 221
the Persian phrase has it, "wearers of tents."† This small tribe, 621
the Rupshu Chāmpās, have about 100 tents, one to a family; they
are divided into two camps, which separate in summer, and fre-
quent distinct pastures, but reunite in winter. They make about
four moves during the year, with, I think, much regularity,
though the time of these must vary if the season be unusually
late or early; thus their stay at each encamping-ground is nearly
three months on the average. The tents are of a black 342
hair-cloth, made from either yāks' or goats' hair. They are of a
peculiar form; they are constructed in two pieces, which are
not closely united, but put together so as to leave an opening
of six inches all along the top; this allows the exit of smoke,
while the fall of rain or snow is so small as to cause little incon-
venience, or the space may be temporarily covered with a piece of
carpeting. The space within the tents is enlarged by the hair-
cloth being pulled out here and there by extra ropes, which are
led over a forked stick and then pegged down. The tent is orna-
mented with little flags and with yāks' tails fastened to the poles.
I have no measurement, but from memory should say that the
tents are about 14 feet long, 10 feet wide, and nearly 6 feet
high. In one OF THESE LIVES A WHOLE FAMILY.

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* These people practise polyandry as the Ladākhīs do; to this we must directly attribute their small numbers. The necessity felt for polyandry arose from the number of sheep, goats, &c., being limited by the winter feed. 595

† *Khima-posh.*

793 361 reason for the existence of so many monasteries always inhabited and one to each town or village of reasonable size.

134 Ladakh is a land of extreme barrenness. If the population
241 were permitted to increase the people would starve, for not only
are they unable to grow sufficient to support more mouths than
are already there, but with communications so bad, little can be
595 imported. In order to retain the population at its present level,
since they are unable to live for long in other climates after all
their lives breathing the rarer air of the mountains, as in Tibet,
polyandry has become the custom of the land, and has been so
from time immemorial, having proved a powerful check on the
population, the greater percentage of which are women.

The system of polyandry is confined to brothers, each
family having but one wife, and although the usual number of
husbands is three, four or even five are not unknown. Occasionally
one hears of a "brother" being adopted at the demand of
the wife, and rather than lose their wife, the husbands have to
agree to her lover becoming one of them. On no account can a
family have more than one wife, so that the unfortunate
428 younger brothers in a large one have to suffer. The eldest son
inherits the family estate as soon as he marries; it is his duty then
to provide for his parents, grandparents and unmarried sisters,
in addition to which he has to support those brothers who
share his wife. This system of inheritance keeps the property
intact, for there is never more than one heir and the patrimony
is never divided.

428 If there is no son, then the property of the family is inherited
582 by the daughter who is free to marry any man she wishes, even
595 to have an experimental marriage with a younger son—this is
done by a State-recognised religious ceremony. And she can
divorce him after giving him a small present, say a sheep, if
after a few days' trial he does not come up to her expectations.
Besides all this she may choose several husbands if she so
desires, all becoming the "brothers" of her first husband, who
dare not protest for fear of being sacked. One can imagine the
power an heiress has in her hands and how carefully the hus-
586 band has to conduct himself that he is not dismissed. The
husband of an heiress is called a "magpa". He, poor fellow, is
unable to leave his heiress wife unless he can prove the grossest

misconduct, no easy task in a country where the moral code is not too high and where husbands are prepared to share their wife. 586

The children of a family have one "big father" and several "little fathers". When the husband who actually married the woman dies, she need not remain with the brothers or junior husbands. If she wishes to leave them, she just ties a thread to the finger of her dead husband, breaks it, and is at once free of them all. It is a land where women enjoy unfettered power and liberty. 595

The simpleness of these people was early on demonstrated to me. We had considered ourselves fortunate in securing the services of a shikari from Leh who had taken a party through from that city the previous season to Baltistan to shoot markhor, afterwards going down with them to Srinagar. He had been away from his ~~home~~ for nearly a year, but showed no great delight on returning there, even though he met his brother who had also just returned from Tibet, he being a guide who each season took parties through from Leh to Lhasa, a three months' journey. Both men must have been in their late thirties, their wife was a comely soul of about the same age; she carried a baby which was not yet able to walk, and when next day I visited the house, which both brothers insisted that I must see, it was obvious, even although she was wearing the full dress of her countrywomen, that there was another child on the way.

After a while a boy, who might have been fifteen years old, came in and, since he acted as though he was a member of the household, I naturally took him to be a son, but not a bit of it, he was the third husband. Then I started working things out; both the elder brothers had been away from their home for so long that the child that was coming could only be that of the younger boy brother, and harking back again, I remembered that they had told me that the season before both had been away, so that the baby the wife carried in her arms must also have been his. It seemed that she had been married to the brothers for over 842
twelve years and had had no children—probably both men 595
were diseased—now when the boy brother took his place in the line, the family had started to increase. But the suggestion that they would at least know who was the father, was immediately

842 blanketed, with "You do not understand. All three brothers
● 595 planted the seed, the younger one only kept it watered!" And so
no boy will really believe that he knows his own father, unless
[602] of course the wife has but one husband. If he considers the
question at all, it seems that he thinks of his mother's first
husband as his father; anyway it is his name that he always gives
on permits and application forms.

595 As one would expect of an heiress and her husbands, it is she who decides which of her husbands shall accommodate her, when and for how long. But this is not always the case, for when I was there the men were laughing over a very wealthy middle-aged heiress whose youngest husband, a particularly handsome magpa, having proved to her his worth as a lover, had to the astonishment of everyone become so powerful that it was he, and not she, who laid down the rules for the house, it was he who granted to his "brothers" their wife's favours, it was he who reserved the right to butt in whenever he wished. And all this came about through the old story of feminine jealousy, for the wife had caught a pretty young heiress eyeing her youthful new husband on more than one occasion, and this just after she had herself realized his qualities.

In the case of a family in which the wife is not an heiress, it is the elder brother who arranges these matters. Even then, with an extremely pretty woman there are times when the adopted brother, with whom she is really in love, manages to gain power by threatening divorce. Then, if the head of the family is weak, it is this "brother" who takes over the marital arrangements, but not the family estates or responsibilities.

It seemed from the candid remarks of my shikari guide, that with himself and his next brother having been away from their wife for so long, the boy brother would be crowded out and like so many husbands of his age, have to snatch the wife's favours when she could spare the time during the day.

The houses of the middle and higher class have one room set aside for the wife, but in the houses of the poorer people all sleep in one room. The odd thing is that although there must be arguments over the wife, seldom, if ever, does a violent quarrel take place. Probably this is because there are other outlets for passions in Ladakh.

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir [illegible]
W. Tibetans AJ4

I can well imagine the shock any high-minded Englishman or woman must suffer after they have been reminded, as I was by the Head Lama, that it is known that when Julius Caesar first went to England, he discovered that polyandry was a common practice in the country. 000

If there are more than three brothers, unless the wife is prepared to cope with extra husbands, then those remaining have the choice of either becoming a lama and entering the monastery or becoming a coolie; unless of course one is born fortunate enough to catch the eye of an heiress. 595 793

These lamas who are both male and female, usually remain single, though there is no bar against their marriage. The women lamas or nuns, known as chamos, live in different buildings, but they do not live entirely separate from each other, the nuns undertaking many of the household duties in the monasteries, such as baking bread, cooking and so on. 795

It is not unknown for a family to dedicate their first born, or even the favourite son to this religious life. In that event he is sent to a monastery school—which is residential—from the age of eight years, passing through all the stages of pupil, probationer and finally fully ordained monk. As such he has to observe some two hundred and fifty-three vows, and monastic life—at least of the yellow order—imposes a hard discipline upon the monks, including celibacy and abstinence. His diet consists of barley, wheat or buckwheat and occasionally rice. The only meat allowed to be eaten is either sheep, goat or yak, and the chief beverages are soup, milk and tea. 793 705 [262]

In every village we had passed through we had seen belonging to practically every house a little boy wearing a lama's hat or a little girl wearing the cap of a chamo. They had been dedicated as the one of the family to enter the monastery or nunnery school as soon as they were old enough. 793

The monks, in addition to being divided into sects, are separated into two classes; one, those who would in any event have entered the monastery, devote their time to meditation, prayers and the spiritual side "their life being on a higher spiritual plane", and two, those who beg for alms, cultivate the land, look after the rents and so on. The doctors among them—those I met anyway,—had started in the first class and then

793 moved down to the more physical plane and entered the life of the other.

[775] Their chief spiritual head is the Dalai Lama of Tibet, and he is to them "the Vice-Regent of Buddha on earth". They, and all Buddhists believe in reincarnation—some souls remain in the spirit world for many, perhaps thousands of years resting, while those of the more important leaders such as the Dalai Lama and head lamas of some of the great monasteries leave the body when it dies and enter into that of a child almost immediately.

Writing in 1932 of the life of the monks themselves, Norris who appears to have studied the subject, says that they "are generally lax in observing the precepts of their religion and depraved in many of their habits, so that one cannot help comparing their practises with the worst abuses prevalent among monasteries in Europe during the middle ages. In Ladakh Buddhism has sunk into a system of degraded idolatry, guided by meaningless conventions and fantastic superstitions".

[795] Of the nuns one reads in *Kashmir*, "as in the case of the lamas, there are both the yellow and the red sects. . . . Nuns of the yellow sect enjoy a higher reputation than their red counterparts".

595 838 Either polygamy or polyandry will throw out the balance of the remaining unabsorbed sex, but in Ladakh there is this added custom whereby no family is permitted to have more than one wife. Human nature being what it is, one would expect difficulties to arise in this connection, but it would appear, from what I both heard and saw, that few of the sexual acts condemned as perversions by Moses in the Holy Bible and by Mohammed in the Holy Koran are considered as sins, or even mentioned in the "book" of these lamas.

346 423 The monasteries, which own much land and property, are known as Gimpa by the Ladakhis. Both impressive and picturesque, they are practically always perched on what at first appears to be an inaccessible cliff, the walls of stone masonry usually of the same colour as the site which overlooks the whole of the village.

793 I was taken over more than one of these by my Ceylon friend, spending two nights there, for the lamas are a most hospitable bunch of fellows. I must admit that as I got to know the few

W. Tibetans AJ

scattered and scanty willows and poplars which grow along the
511 watercourses.

595 There can be little doubt that the modest prosperity of the
428 Ladākhis, in contrast to the universal poverty of Baltistān, is
586 due to the practice of polyandry, which acts as a check on
[147] population. Whereas the Baltis, used to the extremes of
temperature, are able to seek employment in hot countries, the Ladākhis would die if they were long away from their peculiar climate. In a family where there were many brothers, the younger ones could neither marry nor go abroad for their living. When the eldest son marries, he takes possession of the little estate, making some provision for his parents and unmarried sisters. The eldest son has to support the two brothers next him in age, who share his wife. The children of the marriage regard all three husbands as father. If there be more than two younger brothers, they must go out as Lāmas to a monastery, or as coolies; or, if he be fortunate, a younger son can marry
[582] an heiress, and become a Magpa. (If there is no son in a family
the daughter inherits, and can choose her own husband, and dismiss him at will with a small customary present. The Magpa husband is thus always on probation, as the heiress can discard him without any excuse or ceremony of divorce.) When the eldest dies or becomes a Lāma, the next brother takes his place. But the wife, provided there are no children, can get rid of his brothers. She ties her finger by a thread to the finger of her deceased husband. The thread is broken,
[562] and she is divorced from the corpse and the surviving brothers.
The woman in Ladākh has great liberty and power. She can, if she likes, add to the number of her husbands. Drew, who had a very intimate knowledge of Ladākh, thinks that polyandry has had a bad effect on the women, making them overbold and shameless. But others, who are equally entitled to form an opinion, consider this an unfair criticism.

563 In the town of Leh are many families of half-castes known
588 as Arguns, the results of the union between Ladākhi women
[567] and Kashmīris, Turkī caravan-drivers, and Dogrās. The Dogrā
children were known as Ghulāmzādas, and were bondmen to the State. The half-castes of Leh are no more unsatisfactory in Tibet than elsewhere, and many travellers have testified to the good qualities of the Argun.

792 The monasteries (*Gompa*) play an important part in the life
[361] of the Ladākhis. Nearly every village has its monastery,
generally built in a high place difficult of access. At the entrance are prayer cylinders, sometimes worked by water-

A Trip to Ladakh

000 did not feel inclined to move, so I tied him to a rock and went off in search of some landmark, for I seemed to have reached the top of the ridge. However, I soon found I could not walk more than twenty paces at a time, and a most splitting headache came on. It felt as if my head blood vessels would burst, and I had *mal de montagne* properly. After wandering about aimlessly I became aware I was up against a precipice. When the moon rose it was now one A.M., and then I saw I was under the foot of a glacier, a great cliff of ice over seventy feet high, which seemed to bulge out at the top like the curve of a huge breaker. It was very impressive, and for the moment I forgot my headache.

I had meant to stay on the pass to see the sunrise, but my powers of endurance gave out. My one desire was to get down the mountain, where I could breathe in comfort, so I descended to the rock where I had left my pony, and I soon began to recover my equilibrium as I descended. When I returned to Leh I made inquiries after my guide, but I never discovered what happened to him and there-
346 fore never knew why he gave me the slip.

796 About twenty miles from Leh is a very large and
788 important monastery called Hemis, and once in every twenty years they have an especially important religious play, so Dr Neve and I hired ponies and joined the happy throng of pilgrims.

It was an interesting and amusing sight to see people of all classes making their way on foot and horseback to this far-famed monastery. On several ponies were two
[595] riders, the man in front and his lady behind. As polyandry is the custom in Ladakh, the wife is therefore the lord
[562] and master, so one expected to see the lady riding in front
788 and one or more husbands riding pillion, for we often saw
576 three passengers riding one horse. We passed two ladies